The Adolescent School Pupil, Psycho-Social Theory and Practice, and the Construction of a Pedagogy of Discipline in Britain, 1911-1989

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Association of Assistant Mistresses (1884-1978)
AMA	Assistant Masters Association (1891-1978)
AMMA	Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (1978-1993)
BAHPS	Birmingham Archives Heritage and Photography Service
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BJEP	*British Journal of Educational Psychology*
BPS	British Psychological Society
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (University of Birmingham)
CHAS	Community History and Archives Service, Sandwell
DES	Department of Education and Science
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ESRO	East Sussex Records Office
HMI	His/Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools
IoE	Institute of Education (University of London)
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
LLRRO	Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office
MRC	Modern Records Centre (University of Warwick)
NAS	National Association of Schoolmasters (1922-1976)
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (1976-present)
NEU	National Education Union (2017-present)
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NHS	National Health Service
NUT	National Union of Teachers (1889-2019)
PAT	Professional Association of Teachers (1970-present; becomes 'Voice' 2008)
PLC	Pastoral Liaison Committee
PSW	Psychiatric Social Worker

RoSLA	Raising of the School Leaving Age
SHS	School Health Service (post-1948; see SMS)
SMO	School Medical Officer
SMS	School Medical Service (1906-1948; see SHS)
SPS	School Psychological Service
STOPP	Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (1968-1988)
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom

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ABSTRACT/SUMMARY

This thesis argues that ideas about adolescence, and the types of discipline that this age-group required, evolved considerably across twentieth-century Britain; with schools functioning as key sites, and teachers as principal agents, for fashioning and disseminating these. I argue, in particular, that the period was characterised by the emergence of what I term a 'pedagogy of discipline', in which teachers came to view discipline as bound together with the fabric of the school itself and its relations with the wider community. This was achieved in several ways. Firstly, through the ideas circulating around adolescence, beginning with the publication of the first British text to popularise the study of the life-stage in 1911. Secondly, through the shifting balance between sociological, psychological and the psycho-social models for understanding adolescents and their needs in school. And finally, through the way in which the landscape beyond the classroom was mobilised – or failed to be mobilised – in debates over why adolescents behaved in the way that they did.

However, I contend that the emphases on these different strands shifted over the course of the period. The early-twentieth-century and inter-war focus was largely on the adolescent as a psychological category, and this drove a heavily reformist agenda concerning access to secondary education. The mid-century period (*c*.1945-1972) witnessed a greater focus on the sociology of the adolescent. Following scholars in the history of the social sciences, most notably Mike Savage, I argue that the diverse range of social-scientific research in this period contributed to an interest in the 'landscape', and, more significantly, influenced teachers to develop popular sociological and ethnographic understandings of their pupils. Lastly, the Raising of the School Leaving Age (RoSLA) in 1972 oversaw a shift towards more quantitative efforts to measure adolescent behaviour. This went together with a more behaviourist trend in psychology, and particularly social psychology, which stressed the school as a 'system' for containing the adolescent. This contributed to pedagogical literature in this later half of the century, and culminated in the 1989 Elton Inquiry into Discipline in Schools (EIDIS) which serves as the thesis' end-point. The thesis is structured around these chronological changes over time, and the shifts in the various actors' perceptions of both adolescence and discipline which facilitated them. It concludes with two chapters that seek to place these developments in wider context. The first of these analyses school log-books (kept by headteachers) from across the period as a whole; while the second concentrates on a specific moment in the early-1960s in which adolescents' own views on their lives, and even on discipline itself, were sought and elicited by interested groups. It argues for the importance of examining these as memoirs of socialisation, but also considers them as sources composed in the context of a particularly liberal pedagogy of discipline.

I suggest that those pedagogies of discipline are connected to the shift towards supposedly more 'progressive' educational practices that several historians of education have identified as emerging to the forefront during the twentieth century under the impetus of left-leaning politics and child-centred psychological theories. But I argue that thinking through the framework of discipline – as opposed to curricular content or practices – can contribute to a reassessment of these trends. In particular, examining developments beyond the 1960s suggests that so-called 'progressive' theories and practices from earlier in the century have enjoyed strange afterlives in the behaviourist 'systems' processes to discipline that increasingly veered towards more Foucauldian and governmental practices as the twentieth century progressed.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other University for a degree.

Signature:

A. D. Burchell

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

Resistance greeted an attempt at the start of the present decade to give teachers sweeping powers to detain and search pupils, including the ability to access mobile telephones.[1] The plans were one response to the in-coming coalition government's concerns about an upsurge in behavioural problems, but were also reflective of a new agenda in education, driven by marketisation and examination results. According to this line of argument, examination success requires the inculcation of a particular behavioural and work ethic, and strict conditions to further this objective are in the child's best interests.[2] These current debates hint at the enduring significance of school discipline as a site of professional and public anxiety. Teaching unions, for instance, have urged the introduction of new sanctions and deterrents, although only a minority of surveyed parents and teachers support a return to corporal punishment.[3]

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[1] Emma Griffiths, 'Human rights warning over school discipline plans', BBC News website, 14 June 2011. Accessed at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-13764614 on 21 August 2018.

[2] George Duoblys, 'One, two, three, eyes on me! George Duoblys on the new school discipline', *London Review of Books* website, 5 October 2017. Accessed at https://www.lrb.co.uk/v39/n19/george-duoblys/one-two-three-eyes-on-me on 10 April 2018.

[3] Ipsos-MORI, *A study into the views of parents on the physical punishment of children for the Department of Children, Schools and Families* (London: Ipsos-MORI, 2007); '"Nearly half of parents" back corporal punishment', BBC News website, 16 September 2011. Accessed at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-14927898 on 28 June 2015; and Richard Gardner, 'Parents back corporal punishment in schools', *Independent* website, 16 September 2011. Accessed at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/parents-back-corporal-punishment-in-schools-2355544.html on 28 June 2015; Jessica Shepherd, 'Pupil behaviour worse since abolition of caning, warn teachers', *Guardian On-Line*, 4 April

The contentious debates over what kind of punishment is most appropriate also suggest that there is a complex web of meanings attached to notions of discipline and the attendant practices of punishment which underpin the cultural context of schooling. It is most frequently adolescent children from working-class backgrounds who are singled out for criticism, and it is these teenagers – not least boys – who are likely to serve as vectors of concern. The recent shift towards highly strict methods for obtaining order – in which rules govern the minutiae of how children should track their teachers around the room – further highlight the adolescent's status as an 'other'.[4] This thesis explores how the working-class male adolescent came to occupy such a position in the eyes of society and, especially, those of teachers. It does so by unpicking the varied efforts to understand and discipline the adolescent male subject across its period of study; beginning in 1911 with the publication of J. W. Slaughter's volume *The Adolescent* (the first attempt to popularise the American G. Stanley Hall's theories about this life-stage to a British audience of welfare workers and teachers) and concluding with the first governmental inquiry into discipline and punishment in schools in 1989.[5] I argue for a need to conceive the approaches towards disciplining the adolescent through a framework that not only recognises significant chronological shifts (explored below) in the theoretical models employed – and the competing claims of psycho-

2012. Accessed at <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2012/apr/04/corporal-punishment-student-behaviour-worse> on 28 June 2015.

[4] Duoblys, 'One, two, three, eyes on me!'. See also: Frances Perraudin, 'Use of isolation booths in schools criticised as "barbaric" punishment', *Guardian On-line*, 2 September 2018. Accessed at https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/sep/02/barbaric-school-punishment-of-consequence-rooms-criticised-by-parents on 3 September 2018. See also: Frances Perraudin and Niamh McIntyre, '"She deserves an education": outcry as academy excludes 41% of pupils', *Guardian On-line*, 31 August 2018. Accessed at https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/aug/31/english-school-outwood-academy-fixed-term-exclusions-pupils on 3 September 2018.

[5] J. W. Slaughter, *The Adolescent* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911); *Discipline in School: report of the Committee of Enquiry chaired by Lord Elton* (London: HMSO, 1989).

social knowledge in twentieth-century Britain – but which also pays attention to the ways in which discipline was bound up with related pedagogical concerns, or what I term the 'pedagogy of discipline'. This allows developments in schools to be related more broadly to extra-mural social changes.[6]

As far as my chronological intervention is concerned, one primary aim is to provide a longer periodisation for change. Whereas older historical scholarship on the disciplining of the working-class child and adolescent – such as that of Harry Hendrick, Anna Davin and Stephen Humphries – tended to adopt the inter-war period as a finishing point, I continue the narrative towards the latter half of the twentieth century. I factor in consideration of both wider social changes across the twentieth century and the new forms of expertise on the adolescent, in the form of psychology and social science, which were only just emerging at the earlier moment but developed as the century progressed.[7] The fates of these fields of expertise were altered by two factors: firstly, by the rise, and shifting fortunes, of both psychology and sociology, with several models and frameworks competing for dominance; and secondly, by the emergence of new forms of writing – both in relation to academic disciplines like sociology, as well as more personal modes of teacher autobiography and ethnographic practice – which altered how the relationship between youth and place was imagined.[8]

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[6] Peter Mandler has suggested that the school provides a useful vector for understanding changes in post-war society and politics; for instance, through analysis of the greater lobbying powers of parents on the issue of selection: Peter Mandler, 'Educating the Nation I: schools', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), pp. 5-28.

[7] Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: age, class and the male youth problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford: OUP, 1993); Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: home, school and street in London 1870-1914* (London: Rivers-Oram Press, 1996); Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An oral history of working-class childhood and youth 1889-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981).

[8] Some excellent work in this direction has recently been produced by Laura Tisdall, but the topic has otherwise received limited scholarly attention: Laura Tisdall, '"Inside the

One of my principal claims in this thesis is that the psychological perspective on adolescence increasingly gave way among teachers and actors in the local state to a more sociological one; a trend that began after 1944 and accelerated into the 1960s. Unlike the aggressive impression of the infant, derived from psychoanalytical theory, adolescent behaviour problems emerged in a more social-scientific framework that mirrored the progression of the teenager through the landscape and the social structure around the school and neighbourhood. This can, in part, be related to shifts in the position and influence of the psychological profession. But it is also a consequence of how teachers, whose activities necessitated contact with working-class adolescents, also came to construct impressions of their pupils around the urban-industrial landscapes in which they lived; and how this, in turn, predisposed teachers to specific ways of seeing the adolescent. In the early part of the century, psychology made aggression a more internalised concept, an outward manifestation of a change inside and potentially caused by the family context. Sociology reoriented the focus towards society itself as the causative agent. Within this lies a productive story, of the adolescent 'found' through social science, but equally of something 'lost'; for while the trajectory for the infant was towards greater understanding and liberalism, psychology lost its momentum with the teenager. One consequence of this, I argue, was a new wave of behaviourism, coupled with a 'systems'-based sociology, which situated aggression and behaviour in the classroom as something to control. This led to a shift back towards psychological models for behaviour which took place from the mid-1970s to 1989. Teachers'

Blackboard Jungle": male teachers and male pupils at English secondary modern schools in fact and fiction, 1950 to 1959', *Cultural and Social History*, 12:4 (2015), pp. 489-507. Such work draws from the older historiography on female teachers and discourses of femininity and motherhood, see: Carolyn Steedman, '"The mother made conscious": the historical development of a primary school pedagogy', *History Workshop*, 20 (1985), pp. 149-163; and idem, 'Prisonhouses', in *Past Tenses: essays on writing, autobiography and history* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1992), pp. 51-61.

initiatives to devise pedagogical methods of controlling secondary-school-age pupils therefore parallel the shifting formulations of the adolescent subject itself.

Thus, although the roots of anxieties around school discipline are located firmly in the earlier part of the twentieth century, they only coalesced around the figure of the adolescent most visibly in the post-war period. This coincided with two transitions: first, into a mass system of secondary schooling within the broader welfare-state, but one often the first area of government to face budget cuts;[9] and, second, by local education authorities (LEAs) moving towards more comprehensive systems during the 1960s and 1970s. The first of these stages occurred in the early part of the twentieth century, a period bookended by conflict and the emergence of class and national fitness as major concerns of the state. The First World War has taken a unique place in the scholarly literature on the eugenics movement, and public health discourse in general, as a moment when the working-class male body was subjected to state scrutiny and found lacking.[10] The inter-war years are similarly characterised by the development of initiatives, most commonly led at the level of the local state, to survey and treat the health of the schoolchild (at the time, children aged between five and fourteen).[11] School Medical Services (SMS) and School Medical Officers (SMO) had to be appointed in LEAs under authority of the 1906 Education Act. Many of the Education Committees which

[9] Nicholas Timmins claims that education budgets were routinely sacrificed in the 1950s to protect other parts of the welfare state, such as the NHS: Nicholas Timmins, *The Five Giants: a biography of the welfare state*, 2nd edition (London: Harper Collins, 2001 [1995]), p. 197.

[10] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: men's bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion, 1996); Fiona Reid, *Broken Men: shell shock, treatment and recovery Britain 1914-1930* (London: Continuum, 2010).

[11] Such ages are, of course, general for much of the first two decades of the twentieth century. The 1902 Education Act fixed the leaving age at fourteen. However, it contained many exemptions which allowed pupils to leave earlier, or their parents to withdraw them for the world of work, on a voluntary basis. The 1918 Education Act removed these exemptions. At the opposite extreme, pupils who passed scholarship examinations could also stay in school beyond the legal age.

ran the LEAs began to expand these services after 1918 to offer an elaborate and impressive range of treatments which predate the NHS.[12] It is with these developments that most histories of youth and behaviour tend to conclude. Hendrick's analysis, for instance, finishes in 1920, with the failure of the Day Continuation School movement; one example of an attempt to fashion an educational system for the adolescent.[13] Yet the inter-war period was particularly fertile in thinking about educating the adolescent, and exerted an impact on the subsequent part of the century. From the two government reports which were published into secondary education during this time, to the gradual local reorganisation which favoured moving the 'adolescent' child into the separate spaces of the senior schools, the influence of the period 1918-1939 is notable. This period was also marked by the popularisation of psychological theories and by a renewed focus on aggression within these as a key aspect of human nature.[14] By the post-war period, however, aggression appears to have developed more sociological connotations as, in Louise Jackson's analysis, public 'tolerance' for

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[12] Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: a history of the school medical service in England and Wales* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995); John Welshman, *Municipal Medicine: public health in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 168-284; Alysa Levene, Martin Powell, John Stewart and Becky Taylor, *Cradle to Grave: municipal medicine in interwar England and Wales* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011).

[13] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 213-249.

[14] Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: identity, culture, and health in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 2006); Jon Lawrence, 'Forging a peaceable kingdom: war, violence, and fear of brutalisation in post-First World War Britain', *Journal of Modern History*, 75:3 (2003), pp. 557-589; Michal Shapira, 'The psychological study of anxiety in the era of the Second World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 24:1 (2013), pp. 31-57; Michal Shapira *The War Inside: psychoanalysis, total war, and the making of the democratic self in postwar Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Michal Shapira, '"Speaking Kleinian": Susan Isaacs as Ursula Wise and the inter-war popularisation of psychoanalysis', *Medical History*, 61:4 (2017), pp. 525-547; Graham Richards, 'Britain on the couch: the popularisation of psychoanalysis in Britain 1918-1940', *Science in Context*, 13:2 (2000), pp. 183-230.

aggressive and problematic behaviours reduced across all social groups.[15] Such anxieties fed into the 'blackboard jungle' moral panic of the mid-1950s,[16] while between the 1960s and 1980s, under a backlash against changing social mores, youth became more readily equated with aggressive and violent behaviour in society and the school and suffered a more hostile public image.[17]

This narrative should not be read as suggestive of total antagonism between psychology and sociology. Rather, it is a product of their interactions, and of how their different approaches were able to integrate – or failed or integrate – contemporary concerns into their theoretical frameworks. One such concern was the position of the school in the adolescent's 'landscape'. I shall explore how these more localised concerns evolved through the use of case-studies, but their influence on a national level was also significant. This was particularly so at what I consider the 'mid-century' moment (*c.*1945-*c.*1970), which coincides with what several scholars have identified as a post-war (or mid-century) 'settlement', marked by greater attention being paid to sociology and the physical landscapes of adolescent

[15] Louise Jackson (with Angela Bartie), *Policing Youth: Britain, 1945-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 87.

[16] The phrase entered British usage through the American novel by Evan Hunter (published in Britain in 1955), and its later film adaptation, which recounted the story of a teacher's experiences in a New York school: Evan Hunter, *The Blackboard Jungle: a novel* (London: Constable, 1955). For its use as a rhetorical trope in the press see, by way of example, the following articles from the British press: '"Blackboard Jungle" master beaten', *Daily Mail*, 23 July 1957, p. 5; : 'Blackboard Jungle hunt fails here', *Daily Mail*, 20 July 1956, p. 5; 'Blackboard Jungle comes to NW3', *Daily Mail*, 6 February 1958, p. 1; Jack Greenslade, 'JP starts "Blackboard Jungle" row', *Daily Mail,* 19 March 1958, p. 5; and Michael Gowers, 'Once more, into the blackboard jungle', *Daily Mail*, 17 December 1963, p. 10. Jackson discusses the moral panic around this theme in her work on juvenile delinquency, while Tisdall explores the literary genre of 'blackboard jungle' fiction: Jackson, *Policing Youth*, pp. 86-103; Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"'.

[17] Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: historical dimensions, contemporary debate* (Bristol: Polity Press, 2003), pp. 7-13.

socialisation.[18] This was defined by Savage's own 'moment of sociology'.[19] But such landscapes were also the site of psychological concern, identified under the label of the 'psycho-social'[20] and concerned with the place of psychological subject in the social framework.[21] In short, national concerns are inflected by local debates, and vice-versa, with different theoretical models commingling in these. How these interact with the key themes of this thesis is explored below.

(1.1) Historiographical themes and background

This thesis engages with chronological shifts in the adolescent. But the nature of its argument necessitates cutting across several historiographical narratives and literatures. The ways in

[18] The phrase 'post-war settlement', devised by Paul Addison, has been used by many scholars of the period. As Thomson notes, the theory of the war as a rupture has been largely abandoned, although the phrase provides a useful shorthand designation (with appropriate caveats) to describe what Thomson calls the 'powerful structures of feeling' that the conflict brought to bear in its aftermath: Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: the landscape of the child and British post-war settlement* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), p. 13 (see also: pp. 10-15). For further examples of an idea of 'settlement' in the historiographical literature, see: Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945: British politics and the Second World War* (London: Pimlico, 1994 [1975]); idem, *No Turning Back: the peacetime revolutions of post-war Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 2010); Timmins, *The Five Giants*; Richard Toye, 'From "consensus" to "common ground": the rhetoric of the postwar settlement and its collapse', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 48:1 (2013), pp. 3-23.

[19] Mike Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: the politics of method* (Oxford: OUP, 2010); Mike Savage, 'The fall and rise of class analysis in British sociology, 1950-2016', *Tempo Social: revista de sociologia da USP*, 28:2 (2014), pp. 57-72; Thomson, *Lost Freedom*.

[20] An alternative spelling for this (and that preferred by scholars such as Rhodri Hayward) leaves out the hyphen ('psychosocial'). Throughout this thesis, I prefer the hyphenated form because it stresses my point (developed later in this introductory chapter) that the psycho-social must be understood as a composite of the psychological and the social.

[21] Rhodri Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial: an introduction', *History of the Human Sciences*, 25:5 (2012), pp. 3-12; Jonathan Toms, 'Political dimensions of the "psychosocial": the 1948 International Congress on Mental Health and the mental hygiene movement', *History of the Human Sciences* 25:5 (2012), pp. 91-106.

which the thesis draws from and contributes to existing bodies of historiographical scholarship are examined below, grouped around five key issues. Three of these – young people's identities (age, class and gender), the position of the teaching profession in relation to social change in twentieth-century Britain, and the role of landscape as a site for analysing class – are related to questions of subjectivity and belonging. Another heading, on the interactions of psychology and the social sciences through the prism of the psycho-social, grapples with issues of defining disciplinary boundaries and methodologies in historical perspective. The final section on the 'pedagogy of discipline' seeks to define a term that is central to this thesis and bring together the previous strands.

(1.1.1) Placing adolescence: youth, class and gender

Of all the categories examined in this thesis, it is most useful to begin with adolescence. I argue that the adolescent – as an object of analysis and subject of the school system – was understood through several disciplinary perspectives. My analysis here is centred around the complex issues of definition and methodological practice in recovering the history of the young. The first issue of the American *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* addressed some of these questions, examining the question of youthful voices in the archive and considering ways of thinking about 'agency' in social histories of the young.[22] Drawing

[22] Leslie Paris, 'Through the looking glass: age, stages and historical analysis', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1:1 (2008), pp. 106-113; Mary Jo Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis: history, agency and narratives of childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1:1 (2008), pp. 114-124. See also: Tamara Myers, 'Sex, gender and the history of the adolescent body: 30 years after "The Crime of Precocious Sexuality"', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2:1 (2009), pp. 95-102; Anna Christina Rose, '"Personal powers of the child": object lessons and languages of agency in the sciences of childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 4:3 (2011), pp. 369-381.

from these frameworks, I argue that adolescence can be seen as culturally, rather than biologically, determined.[23] But I do take a more constructionist approach which, while not destabilising entirely the place of the adolescent's own agency in effecting historical change, examines instead how 'adolescence' as a category was constituted by a range of observers. Such processes of social construction are visible in how adolescents and their behaviour traits were written about across twentieth-century Britain, and, ultimately, fed back into how young people perceived themselves. These were overlaid with the effects of gender, class and race. The adolescent – not infrequently a working-class male one – served as a metaphor or cipher for the society which produced him. The historiography on adolescence, not least that produced by more literary scholars, has used the shifting perceptions of the age at given historical junctures to interrogate their role as a symbol of everything from sexuality to stress.[24] This mirrors childhood studies, which has often looked to literature, and fiction especially, to collapse disciplinary boundaries and see beyond the socio-scientific construction around the figure of the child.[25]

This thesis takes the working-class adolescent boy as its subject. This is not to suggest that the disciplining of girls or middle-class children was not an issue, but that gender and class combined to produce an image of the adolescent centred on the working-class boy which has predominated in the surviving archives on discipline. To discuss the ways in which the pedagogy of discipline was feminised would require a different approach to recover the

[23] Ilana Kraussman Ben-Amos, 'Adolescence as a cultural invention: Philippe Ariès and the sociology of youth', *History of the Human Sciences*, 8:2 (1995), pp. 69-89.

[24] Patricia Meyer Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea: myths of youth and the adult imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1982); John Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960* (Gill and Macmillan, 1986); and John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[25] Sally Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child: child development in literature, science, and medicine, 1840-1900* (Oxford: OUP, 2010).

nature and form of the debates around female adolescence and thus produce a very different thesis. A focus on male children likewise reflects the importance of adolescence as a time of increasingly gendered socialisation on gendered identities. The politics of adolescent representation through the lens of gender is itself one way of analysing the values imported onto adolescents by society. Hilary Marland, in her work on girlhood's emergence in the *fin-de-siècle*, argues that the 'further challenge of youth' should be added to the 'double burden' of class and gender.[26] Yet attention to how the youthful subject was problematised raises issues not only of gendered differences in treatment, but equally of class and the competing methodologies. Similarly, to ignore the problematisation of the male child risks perpetuating the narrative that only the female body can be pathological.[27] As Hendrick notes, psychology did provide a language, at least in the early twentieth century in which corporeal changes could impinge upon the mental state of young men. Moral failings in adult working-class people, he notes, were identified as a product of class (that is a sociological marker); yet the same perceived failings when 'displayed by adolescents … were explained primarily in terms of physiology and psychology'.[28] Adolescence was, for much of twentieth-century Britain, the stage in the life-cycle when children moved into separate spaces – not least, for part of the post-war period, single-sex schools.[29] Moreover, as Laura King argues, while the post-war child – as a 'symbol' and 'political space' for consensus and dissent – remained ambiguously

[26] Hilary Marland, *Health and Girlhood in Britain, 1874-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 169.

[27] Myers, 'Sex, gender and the history of the adolescent body', pp. 97, 99.

[28] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 152.

[29] This type of school predominated in both of my case-studies until the late-1960s.

gendered, the teenagers who emerged in the same moment were always gendered more explicitly and 'could represent particular social problems'.[30]

This thesis consequently aims to contribute to our understanding of the social construction of youth, and to tell the story of how the male adolescent was made a gendered subject through certain processes of external observation. King's 'symbolic' child is a particularly apposite foil for the adolescent in this, as teenagers also elicited responses from adults. Patrick Ryan notes in a study of adolescent absconders in the 1930s United States, for instance, how the adolescent was able to produce a different 'emotional impression' on the social workers dealing with them compared to younger children, and not necessarily a positive one.[31] Adolescence also possessed a significant metaphorical power for the commentators and observers writing about it. The adolescent boy especially, defined by awakening strengths and capacities, has been at the centre of political and national strategies; from the scout movement, to *fascisti*, to more banal efforts to inculcate thrift.[32] The arguable founder of adolescent psychology, G. Stanley Hall (1846-1924), and his successors believed that adolescence typified and exemplified the age in which they were writing, whether for good or ill.[33] Charles Burns, a psychiatrist based in Birmingham and the director of the city's

[30] Laura King, 'Future citizens: cultural and political conceptions of children in Britain, 1930s-1950s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27:3 (2016), pp. 391-392, 395, 397-398.

[31] Patrick Ryan, '"Young rebels flee psychology": individual intelligence, race and foster children in Cleveland, Ohio, between the world wars', *Paedagogica Historica*, 47:6 (2011), pp. 777, 779.

[32] King, 'Future citizens'; Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et le vie familiale sous l'ancien regime* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960) (This was translated into English as: Philippe Ariès,, (trans. Robert Baldick), *Centuries of Childhood* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962)); Antonio Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino: infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò* (Turin: Einaudi, 2005).

[33] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*, Vol. 1 (New York and London: Appleton, 1904), 'Preface'.

child guidance clinic, noted in 1956 that 'Child Guidance is … at a kind of adolescent period – in a plastic stage', employing the biological stage as a metaphor for possibilities and expansion.[34] Belief, then, in living in an 'adolescent' moment was a powerful motif. Indeed, adolescence itself seems to have been perpetually 'adolescent'; always latent and in a process of becoming, while adolescents themselves were, to employ the oft-cited dictum of E. P. Thompson, 'present at their own making'.

Part of the problem with the more social-historical agency approach to the history of childhood and youth is its desire to stress freedom. This thesis, by contrast, situates that adolescent within a framework of discipline. Many of the earlier writers on youth history – in contrast to the more romanticised work of Philippe Ariès[35] – were all writing in the wake of adolescents having become more political figures as a result of student protest in the 1960s and what Ben-Amos sees as the more liberationist psychology of youth propounded by Ronald Laing and Erik Erikson.[36] Adolescence, in these narratives, was positioned firmly in the urban setting.[37] For John Neubauer, for instance, the adolescent moves from the protected

[34] Birmingham Archives Heritage and Photography Service (BAHPS), BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/56, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1956', p. 61, in City of Birmingham Education Minutes, 1956-1957.

[35] Ilana Ben-Amos has noted 'the remarkable fit between' Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood* and contemporary notions of age relations and adolescence. Ariès' own political conservatism (he had served in the far-right integrist *Action Française* group as an undergraduate, although he later embraced the Gaullist right) inclined him to produce an adolescence within a heroic, national image: Ben-Amos, 'Adolescence as a cultural invention', p. 74.

[36] Ben-Amos, 'Adolescence as a cultural invention', p. 76. Studies produced after this moment include: John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: tradition and change in European Age Relations 1770-Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1974); Springhall, *Coming of Age*; and Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea*.

[37] Gillis, *Youth and History*; David Pomfret, *Young People and the European City: age relations in Nottingham and Saint-Étienne, 1890-1940* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

spaces of childhood into more dangerous adult worlds, not least the cityscape itself.[38] The narratives of youth culture and rebellion have only recently been questioned within the historiography, but this opens up the prospect of inscribing school discipline and the life-cycle more into narratives of the everyday and the ordinary.[39]

One urban space that has been relatively neglected in work on the British adolescent is the secondary school, despite the adolescent being the main social category to enter (or rather, be forced to remain in) school during the twentieth century. I wish to capture this idea of the school as a key force which emerges into the lives of ever-older cohorts of adolescents over the course of the century, through no fewer than three increases in the school-leaving age: to fourteen in 1918, fifteen in 1944 and sixteen in 1973. The secondary school (and especially the secondary modern), as Laura Carter notes, was a complex institution, whose curricular and institutional roots date back to the inter-war years and the senior schools produced following an earlier period of adolescent-centred reorganisation in the aftermath of the 1926 Hadow report into 'the education of the adolescent'.[40] Adolescence provides a useful way of thinking about continuities within and between these spaces, as all of them were devised with the specific aim of educating this age-group specifically. Adolescents were recognised by the new pedagogies as being more verbal, and it is the awareness of their

[38] Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 64-74.

[39] Selina Todd, 'Affluence, class and crown street: reinvestigating the post-war working class', *Contemporary British History*, 22:4 (2008), pp. 501-518; Selina Todd and Hilary Young, 'Baby-boomers to "beanstalkers": making the modern teenager in post-war Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9:3 (2012), pp. 451-467; Emily Robinson, Camilla Schofield, Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, Natalie Thomlinson, 'Telling stories about post-war Britain: popular individualism and the "crisis" of the 1970s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 28:2 (2017), pp. 268-304.

[40] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education in Britain, 1948-1958', *Cultural and Social History*, 13:1 (2016), p. 24. The Hadow report is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two: *The Education of the Adolescent: report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent* (London: HMSO, 1926).

capacity to produce written and verbal interventions that renders them more visible, at least in part, in the historical record. Yet Tisdall has noted a parallel shift across the twentieth century, as the child (and especially the adolescent) came to be seen in a more 'limited' fashion and deemed 'unable to reason' in most vulgarisations of the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget's framework for intellectual development.[41] Tisdall suggests that the growing institutionalisation of these ideas, under the supposed banner of 'progressivism' came to mean that this view was widespread and promoted a series of pedagogies based around using more concrete ideas to appeal to the adolescent.[42] Other literatures constructed the adolescent as in need of 'guidance'.[43]

Certainly, such ideas bear parallels in terms of British schooling. The inter-war period is marked by the decline of the old 'standards' system of classifying pupils according to ability and towards one based more rigidly on 'age cohorts' through which progression is automatic within a fixed academic calendar. The reorganisation process, like later comprehensivisation, occurred at different rates in different geographical areas, but dominated in the post-1945 system.[44] In France, scholars such as Agnès Theircé have characterised the nineteenth-century adolescent as one moving from an *âge de classe* to a *classe d'âge* (an age cohort for school purposes to a general designation of position in the lifecycle more generally).[45] In Britain, however, the opposite seems to have occurred as

[41] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', pp. 501-502; Laura Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood in England, *c*.1945 to *c*.1979', *Contemporary British History*, 31:1 (2017), p. 27.

[42] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 502.

[43] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 216.

[44] I. G. K. Fenwick, *The Comprehensive School 1944-1970: the politics of secondary school reorganisation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007 [1976]).

[45] Agnès Thiercé, *Histoire de l'adolescence (1850-1914)* (Paris: Belin, 1999).

theories on adolescence circulated prior to, and drove, reforms. A focus on school has the benefit of critiquing the liberationist vision of the adolescent present in work that elides disciplinary structures. This can not only be found in work on revolt and protest, but equally on younger wage-earners, such as David Fowler's *First Teenagers*, which fails to engage critically with the labels anachronistically employed by its author.[46] Fowler seeks so hard to push the idea of the 'teenager' back onto the inter-war period that he misses a key difference between the pre- and post-Second-World-War social structures. Ironically, his 1930s adolescents in many respects enjoyed greater freedoms than their fourteen- and fifteen-year-old counterparts two decades later, having already left school and entered a world of greater financial autonomy in which the disciplinary authority of the adults around them was to a certain degree more ambiguous.

Adolescence was always produced in dialogue and interaction with the demands of other labels of identity – the boy; the working-class – developed from within or imposed from outside. Moreover, such labels were situational and far from being static. The 'teenager' of 1950s Britain moved in different spaces to the adolescent 'lad' or 'boy' of the *fin-de-siècle* discussed by Hendrick or Neubauer. The ages of these groups were also more elastic, and this is the final dimension to adolescence's definition that I examine here. Throughout this thesis I employ the term 'adolescent' to better reflect the nuances of scholarly language operating in the twentieth-century context and to stress the continuity in the social construction of the adolescent as a subject which emerged in the earlier part of the century and travelled through later labels (such as 'teenager'). Similarly, it is important to draw a distinction between how contemporary experts understood the division between 'adolescence' and 'puberty': the latter being the bodily, endocrinological changes occurring from the teenage years onwards, and

[46] David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the lifestyle of young wage-earners in interwar Britain* (London: Routledge, 1995).

the former the psychological and physical adaptations made by the mind and body to those alterations. This distinction has perhaps been lost in current, colloquial English usage, where the two have become broadly interchangeable. Within this latter point lies the essential feature of adolescence as a socially and culturally determined category: that it did not mean the same thing at the beginning of this period as at the end. This is true in both a literal and a broader, historiographical sense. By the mid-twentieth-century, medical opinion was coalescing around a belief that there had been a progressive reduction in the average age for the onset of puberty from the late nineteenth century onwards, attributable to a variety of factors in public health.[47] Such medical analyses enjoyed success and influence because they reflected a popular conception of the adolescent as a more social being; one reflective of both the major advances of the mid-century decades and of more longstanding concerns about the dangers to social order posed by young people and youth culture.[48]

Using these problems of definition as a productive starting point for historical enquiry, I therefore stress adolescence within this thesis as something made and constituted. The adolescent figure, as Carolyn Steedman argues about childhood in *Strange Dislocations*, becomes part of the 'story' that is told about it.[49] Adolescence is, as we shall in Chapter Two, fundamentally bound together with notions of modernity and (as we saw with Ryan's work in an earlier part of this section) shifts in the emotional and cultural significance of what children growing up through different stages of the life-cycle meant in the context of the family and society. But it is equally the institutional structures that give limits to these:

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[47] J. M. Tanner, *Education and Physical Growth: implications of the study of children's growth for educational theory and practice* (London: University of London Press, 1961), pp. 48-52, 97-112.

[48] See, for example: Gillis, *Youth and History*.

[49] Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: childhood and the idea of human interiority 1780-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. ix.

increases in the school-leaving age in Britain brought ever older age cohorts under the ambit of the school, while theoretical models for how to discipline affected their movements within this. Adolescents could, to be sure, interact with forces that attempted to control their lives, and I discuss some of these in Chapter Eight. However, historians of childhood and youth should not lose sight of the role of the adult expert or legislator in constructing categories of age.

(1.1.2) The 'psycho-social': psychology, the social sciences and their methodologies in historiographical perspective

In order to explore the construction and reconstruction of the adolescent in twentieth-century Britain, this thesis analyses the varied contemporary theoretical positions in psychology, the social sciences, and the psycho-social which drove them. I posit, following the work of Mike Savage, that the history of social-scientific thought in modern Britain must be recognised as heterogeneous in a way that complements the approach undertaken by Mathew Thomson in relation to psychology.[50] Yet the parameters of these fields and disciplines pose their own interpretational and definitional difficulties. Writing from the perspective of the history of medicine, for example, Hilary Marland suggests that psychology and medical understandings were crucial to the formation of 'girlhood' or female puberty.[51] Harry Hendrick, meanwhile, posits the social sciences as more crucial in the development of his conception of 'youth' (which is really about boyhood). 'The transformation' of the adolescent, he argues, 'required a surfeit of social appeal which made it irresistible to youth workers, sociologists,

[50] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*.

[51] Marland, *Health and Girlhood*.

educationalists, moralists and others'.[52] These issues in placing the social sciences drive my analysis within this subsection. In particular, I wish to stress the divergent trajectories of psychology and the social sciences, but also the fate of the psycho-social as a composite.

One main issue in this regard is where psychology itself should stand in relation to the social sciences. One of the complicating factors in this is historiographical compartmentalisation. The historical sociologist, Chris Brickell, writing about adolescence in 1950s New Zealand, argues that the social sciences (in which he includes psychology) were integral to rendering the adolescent 'knowable' as a subject.[53] In several recent works by modern British scholars on the social sciences, psychology has often been strangely absent. On the other side, meanwhile, consideration of sociology is equally deficient in histories of psychology and medicine.[54] This is in spite of psychology's position as a 'social science' at the start of the twentieth century, and Hendrick employs the term in this sense.[55] Historians in North America, such as Rebecca Lemov or Mona Gleason, are also more likely to categorise psychology under the rubric of the social sciences.[56] As late as 1937, meanwhile, Mass-

[52] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 85.

[53] Chris Brickell, 'On the case of youth: case files, case studies, and the social construction of adolescence', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 6:1 (2013), pp. 50-80. See also: Chris Brickell, 'The teenager and the social scientist', *New Zealand Sociology*, 28:1 (2013), pp. 36-61.

[54] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*. The work on the 'psycho-social' (see above) has begun to address this imbalance, as has Mathew Thomson's more recent work: Thomson, *Lost Freedom*. Savage also examines the intersections between psychology and sociology, at least in terms of research methods and interviewing techniques: Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 165-186.

[55] See, for instance: Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 9.

[56] Rebecca Lemov, *World as Laboratory: experiments with mice, mazes and men* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005); Rebecca Lemov, *Database of Dreams: the lost quest to catalog humanity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal :*

Observation's founders claimed their project as the culmination of sociology, Darwinian evolutionary theory, anthropology and psychology; clearly viewing each discipline as constitutive of a broader scientific endeavour.[57] Understanding this shift in terminology is integral to make sense of the changes within both the disciplines of psychology and sociology over the course of the period, and Hendrick's own use of the term, to describe a moment that marks the beginning of my own period of study, confirms the need to excavate the trend in usage historically. That psychology's trajectory saw it move increasingly in the direction of the hard and experimental sciences, while sociology diversified away from purely empirical ambitions, positions the mid-century as a key period of transition for the configuration of the academic disciplines dealing with adolescence.

My conceptualisation of these themes in the thesis is two-fold. Firstly, I present the narrative of change between different types of psychological and sociological models, outlined at the beginning of this introduction. Secondly, however, there is a capacity for the two disciplines to work together. Brickell suggests the existence of an 'interdisciplinary soup' at this mid-century juncture, which allowed the adolescent to emerge and be written about across the boundaries of disciplines concerned with social structure and human development.[58]

Rhodri Hayward, Jonathan Toms and others have posited a greater space for such cross-disciplinary fertilisation in the form of the 'psycho-social'[59] which 'provided a kind of

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psychology, schooling, and the family in postwar Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

[57] Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson, *Mass-Observation* (London: Frederick Muller, 1937), p. 23.

[58] Brickell, 'The teenager and the social scientist', p. 56.

[59] Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial'; idem, 'Enduring emotions: James L. Halliday and the invention of the psychosocial', *Isis*, 100 (2009), pp. 827-838; Toms,

conceptual glue which allowed individual failings … to be joined to broader transformations in society or the environment'.[60] Even this, however, has competing definitions. For Toms, it 'remains variously described or interpreted' by historians, although his preferred usage is as a form of 'social psychology' that was receptive to anthropology.[61] More particularly, Toms uses it offer a constructive critique of Nikolas Rose's Foucauldian model of psychological biopower in twentieth-century Britain, suggesting that social psychology's internal political divisions helped to hinder its progress.[62] For Hayward, the narrative of its developments is based on inter-war divisions between psychologists and sociologists, with the former more open to aetiological explanations based on social factors, and the latter more rejecting of psychological insights.[63] Adolescence was noted as central to this, and the psycho-social was 'used to describe the developmental stage around adolescence in which childish

'Political dimensions of the "psychosocial"; Andrew Hull, 'Glasgow's "sick society"? James Halliday, psychosocial medicine and medical holism in Britain *c*.1920-1948', *History of the Human Sciences*, 25:5 (2012), pp. 73-90; Teri Chettiar, 'Democratizing mental health: motherhood, therapeutic community and the emergence of the psychiatric family at the Cassel Hospital in post-Second World War Britain', *History of the Human Sciences*, 25:5 (2012), pp. 107-122; Jonathan Toms, *Mental Hygiene and Psychiatry in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Rhodri Hayward, 'Sadness in Camberwell: imagining stress and constructing history in postwar Britain', in David Cantor and Edmund Ramsden (eds), *Stress, Shock, and Adaptation in the Twentieth Century* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 320-342.

[60] Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial', p. 8.

[61] Toms, 'Political dimensions of the "psychosocial"', pp. 92, 99-102.

[62] Ibid., pp. 92-93. For an outline of Rose's arguments, see: Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: the shaping of the private self* (London: Free Association, 1999 [1989]); idem, *Inventing Our Selves: psychology, power, and personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[63] Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial', p. 4. See also: Martin Roiser, 'Social psychology and social concern in 1930s Britain', in Geoffrey C. Bunn, Sandy Lovie and Graham Richards (eds), *Psychology in Britain: historical essays and personal reflections* (Leicester: British Psychological Society, 2001), pp. 169-187.

individualism is replaced by a sense of communal duty and integration'.[64] Yet Hayward's analysis focuses more on the interactions between the 'psycho-' prefix and biology than the social. If, as both scholars contend, the psycho-social project was a failure, I argue that this was a direct consequence of the rising dominance of the social at the mid-century moment and a passage from 'psycho-' interest in social factors and aetiologies to 'social' interest in underlying causes. Frank Mort and Chris Waters have noted a similar trajectory in discussion of the 'modern' homosexual which substituted an early-twentieth-century psychopathological model of sexuality for a mid-century social conception of behaviours.[65]

The adolescent, in particular, marks something of a limit for this, at least for the period from the 1950s to the early 1970s, which saw greater attention paid to the social interactions of the adolescent. Hayward hints at this when he notes that aetiologies 'shifted from the biographical to the social', with the 'social landscape' characterised as 'a field of threats' to mental well-being.[66] Yet his argument deals more with social psychologists than other professions. Teachers, not trained in psychology, may well have shifted their viewpoints towards the 'social' in other ways. The period thus witnessed a transition from one model (psychology) to another (sociology), followed by another in the opposite direction under the influence of more explicitly behaviourist iterations of the psycho-social in the 'systems' theories of discipline developed during the 1970s under the influence of Michael

[64] Ibid., p. 5.

[65] Frank Mort, 'Social and symbolic fathers and sons in post-war Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 38:3 (1999), pp. 371-374; Chris Waters, 'The homosexual as a social being in Britain, 1945-1968', *Journal of British Studies*, 51:3 (2012), pp. 685-710. See also: Vicky Long, '"Often there is a good deal to be done, but socially rather than medically": the psychiatric social worker as social therapist, 1945-1970', *Medical History*, 55:2 (2011), pp. 223-239.

[66] Hayward, 'Sadness in Camberwell', p. 323.

Rutter's more behaviourally-inclined approach to social psychiatry.[67] In paying attention to the psycho-social, we need to have a greater awareness of it as a concept constituted by two balanced notions. My argument is that the relationship between the two is articulated in different ways and to different extents across the period, with the boundaries between them drawn in different places at difference moments.

Education was a key site of influence for psychological theories, and thus provides a productive site to reflect on the prefix. Yet psychology was a discipline with many diverse facets and both popular and intellectual fronts; and ones which were amenable to a variety of competing claims. In education, it has often been characterised as part of a project of social control, especially in the work of Nikolas Rose.[68] Beginning with Adrian Wooldridge, and continuing through Mathew Thomson's and Laura Tisdall's work, this view has been reassessed.[69] Psychology provided many languages, and even the vocabulary of testing, as Wooldridge notes, had educationally 'progressive' and child-centred dimensions. Indeed, he argues that compared to developments in the later half of the twentieth century, and the New Right model of harsh discipline and schooling, the inter-war models pioneered by Burt appear enlightened.[70] More significantly for this analysis, both Wooldridge and Tisdall appear to posit some form of mid-century hiatus in the valence of the psychometric, and this, I suggest here, is part of a broader turn towards the social. Post-war psychology in Britain was also at a major juncture. The war, as most studies of the discipline appear to concur, bequeathed a

[67] See the discussion in Chapter Six.

[68] Rose, *Governing the Soul*; Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*.

[69] Adrian Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind: education and psychology in England, c.1860-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*; Laura Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood'.

[70] Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, pp. 402-408.

vision of childhood based around the mother-child bond.[71] This, I argue in Chapter Three, limited its utility for those working explicitly with adolescence. Its contradictions were rendered even more visible in the emergence of radical psychology during the 1960s, which purported to offer critiques of the family structure.[72] Psychology was, moreover, a vehicle for critique from both sides of the progressive-traditionalist, and left-right, divide in education.[73] Earlier proponents of social psychiatry and more sociological perspectives, such as John Mays, helped to criticise the notion of the 'blackboard jungle',[74] while the authors of *Black Papers* challenged their enemy of 'progressivism' through the prism of its effects on the child's psychological state.[75]

However, sociology has also had a significant impact on schooling and educational theory. Consideration of this context is revelatory about the place of the social sciences in twentieth-century Britain, but equally about the 'who' of these disciplines. What was the scope for writing outside of academic research, and the potential for popularisation? One enduring image of the mid-century social sciences is that inherited from Malcolm Bradbury's darkly-comic novel *The History Man*, in which the sociology department sits atop a 'high

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[71] Shapira, *The War Inside*; idem, '"Speaking Kleinian"'.

[72] Colin Jones, 'Raising the anti: Jan Foudraine, Ronald Laing and Anti-Psychiatry', in Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter (eds), *Cultures of Psychiatry and Mental Healthcare in Postwar Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 283-294.

[73] Defining 'progressive' is very difficult. As James Avis noted in 1991, it lacks a coherent sense and its practices are varied and even full of 'contradictions': James Avis, 'The strange fate of progressive education', in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Education Limited: schooling and training and the New Right since 1979* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1991), p. 114. Like 'permissive', we might hypothesise that it was defined more in opposition to older approaches, and often formed strange hybridised forms. Nevertheless, I propose to employ the term in this thesis in a general sense, in the absence of a better alternative.

[74] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 493.

[75] Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, pp. 384-408; C. B. Cox and A. E. Dyson, *Black Paper Two: the crisis in education* (London: Critical Quarterly Society, 1969).

glass tower', from which the protagonist can examine, reduced by distance to a literal abstraction, the 'concept that is spread out … below him'.[76] Bradbury's mocking of social-scientific, and specifically sociological, pretension emphasises the seemingly rapid expansion in power these disciplines enjoyed in the mid-century.[77] The institutional structure, reduced to a literal evocation of a panoptic centre from which human behaviour can be studied as under a microscope, highlights its ambivalent relationship to notions of control and progress. For Savage, the social-scientific search for abstraction was certainly a part of the disciplines' post-war project, but it was not as simplistic or absolutist as Bradbury's parody would have us believe. Instead, Savage argues that the abstract was, for many social researchers in the 1950s and 1960s, bound together with a project to return to the landscape and locate an authentic cultural archetype. 'Abstraction' was, in fact, marked by a series of research methodologies which privileged the anonymity of participants and the places examined as case-studies (often accompanied by richly evocative pseudonyms) in order to better make them speak to visions and narratives of the nation.[78]

Paralleling the emergence of these research agendas, social-scientific research and its motifs also spread from the Academy, influencing amateur productions of social investigation from the mid-century. This was one area in which the social sciences came into contact with secondary education. When the children's author and activist Leila Berg (1917-2012) wished to explore the short-lived, experimental leadership of the Islington-based Risinghill Comprehensive School, she turned to the genre of social reportage and produced *Risinghill:*

[76] Malcolm Bradbury, *The History Man* (London: Picador, 2012 [1975]), pp. 61, 64-65, 67.

[77] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 111-134.

[78] Ibid., pp. 22-47.

death of a comprehensive school (1968).[79] Stephen Brooke has similarly found traces of older ethnographic slumming traditions in class-crossing novels from the 1960s.[80] In this, the social sciences – and sociology especially – form a continuity with the emergence (or equally re-emergence) of techniques of social observation in the late-1950s and 1960s, and with productions in very different textual genres and forms. Into this trend, we may place what Kieran Connell, following Stuart Hall, terms the 'social eye' of documentary photography during this period, the novels of the 'angry young men' and (as I argue in Chapter Four) the 'blackboard jungle' novels are also a significant part of this trend.[81] The significant difference here is that in Britain, unlike the US, it was sociology that notionally dominated the social sciences in the post-war years. Anthropology and ethnography were weaker, although they had been comparatively more powerful in the 1930s.[82] Indeed, some of British anthropology's most prominent and visible practitioners were not, in fact, part of an academically organised discipline at all, such as Geoffrey Gorer.[83] However, this peripheral

[79] Leila Berg, *Risinghill: death of a comprehensive school* (London: Penguin, 1968). For a more detailed discussion of Berg and Risinghill, see Chapter Four and Chapter Eight.

[80] Stephen Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London?: class, gender and the post-war city in Nell Dunn's *Up The Junction* (1963)', *Cultural and Social History*, 9:3 (2012), pp. 429-449. On 'slumming', see: Seth Koven, *Slumming: sexual and social politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[81] Kieran Connell, 'Race, prostitution and the New Left: the postwar inner city through Janet Mendelsohn's "social eye"', *History Workshop Journal*, 83 (2017), pp. 301-340; Kieran Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth: photography, meaning and identity in a British inner city', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 46:2 (2012), pp. 128-153; Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London?'.

[82] Savage notes, in particular, the influence of the University of Manchester's anthropology department, and points to greater numbers of lectureships and chairs in anthropology in inter-war British higher education compared to sociology: Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp, 122 (statistical table), 149-150.

[83] Peter Mandler, 'Being his own rabbit: Geoffrey Gorer and English culture', in Griffiths, C., Nott, J. and Whyte, W. (eds), *Classes, Cultures and Politics: essays on British history for Ross McKibbin* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 192-208; idem, *Return from the Natives: how*

status meant that popular anthropology could influence practice from the margins, including that carried out in the context of the mid-century fashion for social realism and what I situate in Chapter Four as ethnographic observation carried out by teachers.

This mid-century ethnography can be situated in longer continuities stretching from the nineteenth-century origins of the social-scientific disciplines and across the inter-war years. Nineteenth-century child study drew together varied disciplinary approaches to understand the child, and bequeathed these to psychology.[84] Teachers in the *fin-de-siècle* were likewise influenced by contemporary social documentary and the ethnographic descriptions of the slums offered by W. T. Stead and Henry Mayhew, incorporating aspects of this anthropological culture into their log-books and descriptions of problem pupils and families.[85] Afterlives of this method can be found in post-war sociology, and in teachers' evocative descriptions of the working-class landscape of the secondary modern school. The thread of the ethnographic method can thus be found in the nineteenth-century, the inter-war period (where it reached its apogee in Mass-Observation),[86] and, finally, in mid-century cultures of social observation both within and beyond the Academy.

Margaret Mead won the Second World War and lost the Cold War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[84] Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child*, pp. 198-206. Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 46, 206.

[85] Springhall, *Coming of Age*, pp. 62-68, 95-100, 122; Welshman, *Underclass: a history of the excluded since 1880*, 2nd edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2013 [2006]), pp. 15-33. The influence of this culture on teachers has been developed by Susannah Wright: Susannah Wright, 'The work of teachers and others in and around a Birmingham slum school, 1891-1920', *History of Education*, 38:6 (2009), pp. 729-746; Susannah Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work in the urban elementary school: evidence from English school log books, *c*.1880-1918', *History of Education*, 41:2 (2012), pp. 155-173.

[86] James Hinton, *The Mass-Observers: a history, 1937-1949* (Oxford: OUP, 2013).

The overall trend of the twentieth century, however, is a movement away from this rich disciplinary comingling and the use of fictionalised self-narratives. In this, thinking about a psycho-social adolescent is a helpful historical concept, but one which must always be related to shifts in influence between its two components. In doing so, this thesis will contribute to the literatures on the psychological, sociological and psycho-social by highlighting the interstices of social scientific, educational and psychological knowledge in twentieth-century Britain.

(1.1.3) Profession and experience: teachers and their schools in twentieth-century Britain

Key to the success of competing psychological and sociological theories were the presence of receptive audiences in the form of teachers. The teaching profession has a rich and developed historiography. The older professionalising histories of Asher Tropp, which placed the profession in a linear narrative of progress – with greater institutionalisation and unionisation at the centre – has given way to the work of Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardiner, who posit a more experiential dimension to teachers' professional culture.[87] These approaches emerged from Martin Lawn's social historical research into teachers in the 1980s, marked by a desire to centralise the agency of the teacher in the context of their local lives and the

[87] Asher Tropp, *The School Teachers: the growth of the teaching profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the present day* (London: William Heinemann, 1957); Stephen Hussey, 'The school air-raid shelter: rethinking wartime pedagogies', *History of Education Quarterly*, 43:4 (2003), pp. 517-539; Philip Gardner, 'The giant at the front: young teachers and corporal punishment in inter-war elementary schools', *History of Education*, 25:2 (1996), pp. 141-163; Philip Gardner and Peter Cunningham, 'Oral history and teachers' professional practice: a wartime turning point?', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 27:3 (1997), pp. 331-342; Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: texts and testimonies, 1907-1950* (London: Woburn, 2004).

competing groups that attempted to influence and govern them.[88] In parallel to this, the work of Stephen Humphries, with its focus on the school as an instrument of class-based power, has given way to that of Susannah Wright and Hester Barron, who have positioned the teacher in interaction with their community, rather than as simply antagonistic towards it.[89] In the newer work, teaching in the twentieth century is characterised not solely by the shifting politics of the unions, but by teachers, like parents, becoming more exposed to – and mobilising – a wealth of social and scientific knowledge.[90] In the case of much of this historiography, the inter-war and Second-World-War years are situated as particular moments of change. Air raid precautions forced teachers to care for their pupils emotionally as well as just educate them, while psycho-social theories about adolescence and childhood made the school a central site for the inculcation of certain desirable behaviour traits.[91] Marland's work suggests that female teachers were particularly important groups in promoting ideas about female adolescence, implying still further the role of the experiential in demarcating authority on the subject of adolescence.[92]

[88] Martin Lawn, *Servants of the State: the contested control of teaching 1900-1930* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1987).

[89] Wright, 'The work of teachers'; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'; Hester Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being in London, 1918-1939', in Hester Barron and Claudia Siebrecht (eds), *Parenting and the State in Britain and Europe c.1870-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 137-159.

[90] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, pp. 225-227; Steedman, '"The mother made conscious"'.

[91] Hussey, 'The school air-raid shelter', pp. 526-528; Martin Lawn, 'What is the teacher's job? Work and welfare in elementary teaching, 1940-1945', in Martin Lawn and Gerald Grace (eds), *Teachers: the culture and politics of work* (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1987), pp. 50-64.

[92] Marland, *Heath and Girlhood*, p. 122-148.

Firstly, therefore, it is necessary to address the role of gender in teacher identities. Carolyn Steedman's 'mother made conscious' proposed that female teachers were offered, and adopted, a narrative of the self that positioned their role as maternal, albeit complemented by greater awareness of developmental theory.[93] Male teachers, and those working in secondary schools, have received much less scrutiny, although both Laura Tisdall and Laura Carter have begun to address the question of how these groups developed their own pedagogies for the working-class adolescent.[94] Gardner suggests that opinions about acceptable levels of force in corporal punishment, for example, were strongly determined by gender.[95] One of the central argunents of this thesis, and particularly as it deals with the experiential dimension of teachers and discipline, is the positioning of the teacher as an observing and ethnographic force within the landscape of the adolescent. As individuals who came into regular contact with the adolescent, secondary-modern teachers were uniquely placed to act as observers – and often participant-observers – of adolescents' lives and behaviour. This role brings the teacher into the psycho-social frameworks for understanding development, outlined in the previous subsection of this chapter.

Yet I suggest, in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, that thinking about teachers through this lens can help to modify and challenge the psycho-social narrative. I propose that teachers, guided by a more experiential self-image – what Tisdall calls 'craft knowledge'[96] – employed social observation as a key device for autobiographical self-fashioning, as we shall

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[93] Steedman, '"The mother made conscious"'.

[94] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"'; Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education'.

[95] Gardner, 'The giant at the front'.

[96] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', p. 491.

see in the literary output of teachers like Michael Croft and Edward Blishen. This highly autobiographical mode of writing, placing their lives within the lived landscape of urban working-class communities makes them as much participants as detached observers. It also appears to distinguish the history of these groups in Britain from those elsewhere. Firstly, unlike France, British teachers were not automatically made civil servants, responsible directly to the Ministry overseeing education; and were not able to integrate themselves as easily into an equivalent of the heroic narrative of republican progress which French educators had been able to employ since the Third Republic.[97] This raises the intriguing prospect that British teachers' narratives focus on the local precisely because they have no access to a national narrative. Secondly, Britain had no comparative tradition of 'pedagogy' as an institutionalised, scientific discipline, with teacher training courses often drawing together varied modules on sociology, psychology and history, as well as practical work placements. The radical British educational commentator, Brian Simon, even lamented the absence of a 'British pedagogy' in 1981,[98] and this was certainly true in an institutional sense, when Britain is compared to European neighbours such as France or Spain.[99] By contrast, student teachers in twentieth-century Spain had to write a thesis at the completion of their studies based on their experience teaching in schools. The consequence of this was the

[97] Theircé, *Histoire de l'adolescence*, pp. 67-70; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), pp. 303-338.

[98] Brian Simon, 'Why no pedagogy in England?', in Brian Simon and William Taylor (eds), *Education in the Eighties: the central issues* (London: Batsford Academic and Education, 1981), p. 124.

[99] Thiercé, *Histoire de l'adolescence*, pp. 217-261; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Teresa Rabazas, 'Classroom cultures: researching the pioneer ethnographical researchers (Madrid, 1950-1970)', in Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (eds), *The Black Box of Schooling: a cultural history of the classroom* (Brussells: PIE Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 99-120.

creation of a series of autoethnographies of the classroom and school life, but ones which read more scientifically and formulaically than those which developed in twentieth-century Britain.[100]

Of course, as I shall show in Chapter Three, there was some, limited British engagement with 'pedagogy', both in the psycho-social conception of the child and adolescent, and the development of teacher-writing of the kind invoked above indicates one way of thinking in the interdisciplinary way imagined by pedagogy's proponents. Indeed, those on Master of Education or Bachelor of Education (MEd and BEd) courses would have had to produce dissertations, which could include a wide range of topics, some of which were published in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology*.[101] Such courses, however, only dealt with a small fraction of intending teachers, and the need to train large numbers of new staff ahead of the post-1944 reforms necessitated the creation of more *ad-hoc* training programmes. Nevertheless, the content of the university syllabi undoubtedly influenced the shorter training programmes. Indeed, I would argue that it is precisely the 'unprofessional' aspect that makes the study of these other teachers' writings so productive for historical analysis. On the one hand, the ways in which they mobilise sociological research practices demonstrates the permeation of the language of these disciplines into teachers' vocabulary. On the other, the fact that they sought to capture and render the adolescent on paper at all testifies to a complex series of interests coalescing in the profession during the middle years of the century. Once again, it is the heterogeneity and diversity of the teaching profession that comes across as striking. For much of the period, the boundaries of the teaching profession

[100] Del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Rabazas, 'Classroom cultures', pp. 103-105.

[101] Kenneth D. Hopkins, 'Punishment in schools', *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 9:1 (1939), pp 8-28; and C. W. Valentine, *The Difficult Child and the Problem of Discipline* (London: Methuen & Co, 1947), p. 85.

remained relatively porous, allowing individuals from a range of backgrounds to enter. The emergency training colleges – although considered by some older, more established, teachers as a threat to their expertise and position – were able to become a crucial site of socialisation for many young men, as Blishen's *Nest of Teachers* recounts.[102]

Within the teaching profession, then, it would be possible to find university graduates, alongside former Colleges of Education graduates, as well as the 'emergency-trained'. Yet if teachers' backgrounds and entries into the profession were not homogeneous, all appeared to share the same need for a framework to make sense of their experiences. For some, who may have had preliminary knowledge of the social sciences, contact with working-class children may well have made them enticing objects for study. Steedman's work with her primary-school-age children at various schools in the north-east during the 1970s forms one example of this.[103] The feminist scholar Valerie Walkerdine, like Steedman, spent a period of time as a school teacher and also wrote about her experiences as identity-forming in highly self-reflective and searching ways.[104] Meanwhile, the late Stuart Hall described finding relief work in a secondary-modern school at Kennington, south London, whilst jobbing as an editor for *Universities & Left Review* in the mid-1950s:

> So I thought well, what can you do [after leaving his studies]? Practically, nothing! I couldn't then drive, so I couldn't drive a milk float. You can teach. So I got a job in a

[102] Edward Blishen, *A Nest of Teachers* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980); idem, *Roaring Boys: a schoolmaster's agony* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1955); and Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', p. 491.

[103] Carolyn Steedman, *The Tidy House: little girls writing* (London: Virago, 1982); Carolyn Steedman, 'Amarjit's song', in *Past Tenses: essays on writing, autobiography and history* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1992), pp. 90-108; Carolyn Steedman, 'Prisonhouses'; Steedman, '"Mother made conscious"'.

[104] Valerie Walkerdine, *Schoolgirl Fictions* (London: Verso, 1990).

> secondary school as a supply teacher, and you're sent round to different schools, but my school was unable to retain any of its supply teachers, or indeed its teachers. So once I'd got in there they never let me go.[105]

In this interview, Hall went on to discuss his pupils' participation in the Notting Hill 'race riots' as well as their views on immigration, and his comments can lead us to speculate about the place of this experience in the formation of Hall's own iteration of cultural studies.[106] Of course, the majority of schools were not staffed by Halls, Steedmans or Walkerdines. But the ease with which those like them were able to come and go from the profession, at least throughout that long mid-century juncture, and then reinvent their lives in other domains indicates something important about the nature of the education system in mid-century Britain. Even Croft and Blishen were transient visitors to the profession. As Steedman notes, schools offered relatively stable employment for university graduates unsure of their future direction, although Hall's emphasis on falling into teaching as a last resort indicates the other side to this self-narrative for some.[107] More significant still is his revealing juxtaposition of the work open to him: the teacher and the milk-float driver. While we may consider his choices to be strange – one is an obvious example of a working-class job, the other of a middle-class one – it suggests that for radical commentators there was not much of a difference. Blishen, too, describes falling into teaching by accident; going into emergency training after leaving the wartime agricultural work in which he had been placed as a conscientious objector.[108]

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[105] Stuart Hall and Les Back, 'At home and not at home: Stuart Hall in conversation with Les Back', *Cultural Studies*, 23:4 (2009), pp. 670-671.

[106] Ibid., pp. 671-672.

[107] Steedman, 'Prisonhouses', p. 60.

[108] Edward Blishen, *A Cack-Handed War* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972).

What emerges forcefully across all of these individuals, in fact, are the emotional dimensions of this work, occasionally cited as part of a personal political project or otherwise. Hall worried about his pupils during the Notting Hill 'race riots', while Steedman went so far as to argue that her primary motivation for remaining as a teacher for so long was because it provided a way to engage in 'everyday socialism'.[109] British teachers had long been situated in a strange position as both insiders and outsiders. What Steedman holds to be the case for women in the profession – trapped in 'prisonhouses' and forced to mother, even as a marriage bar prohibits them from realising families of their own – might have a male parallel.[110] Often living near to their schools in the urban slums, even if in neighbouring and more affluent middle-class areas, they were neither truly accepted by liberal professionals, nor by their pupils' working-class parents.[111] They thus became the perfect observer of the worlds around them. As Wright has noted in her study of Birmingham school log-books from the late-Victorian and Edwardian era, teachers were a key agent who developed and disseminated 'a common discourse regarding Birmingham's slums', which can be related to wider histories of educational 'slumming', even, I suggest, into the mid-twentieth century.[112]

For these reasons, I wish to cast aside the simplistic division between teachers and their pupils that has been present in older social control narratives of schooling, such as Humphries' work on the early part of the twentieth-century.[113] By the mid-century, as Hester Barron argues, schooling had become more accepted as part of the welfare state, and

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[109] Hall and Back, 'At home and not at home', p. 672; Steedman, 'Prisonhouses', p. 60.

[110] Steedman, 'Prisonhouses'.

[111] Wright, 'The work of teachers'; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'.

[112] Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 730-731; Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London?'.

[113] Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*

boundaries between community and school were not necessarily as fiercely guarded.[114] But I also propose that the earlier scholarship was so keen to cast education as a force of discipline and class violence that it ignored the hierarchies within the system itself, with teachers often located on the bottom rung. As I argue elsewhere, where teachers' interactions with pupils spilled over into corporal punishment, it was within the framework of pre-existing social and cultural expectations – a 'moral economy' of the school and its order.[115] As the Dutch historian of education, Theo Veld, has argued:

> Teachers have more influence on the practices in the classroom than their pupils, though teachers do not have full autonomy in the class. Their autonomy is limited not so much by their subordination to other authorities like the headmaster and school team, the school board and the inspectorate, but by the *grammar of schooling* … the material and institutional setting of the school and classroom.[116]

For this reason, he argues, while the work of a teacher 'is pre-arranged in many respects' from classroom layout to the pupils in his class, each teacher 'represents agency within this institutional context'.[117] The dichotomy between teaching as work within a prescribed framework and teaching as an example of a profession acting with agency is one to which this thesis pays attention through its discussion of the 'pedagogy of discipline' (see later subsection), which seeks to recognise the way in which discipline was embedded not simply

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[114] Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being', pp. 140.

[115] Andrew Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline in English schools, 1945-1986', *Cultural and Social History*, 15:4 (2018), pp. 551-570.

[116] Theo Veld, 'Oral history and the black box of the classroom: a personal journey', in Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (eds), *The Black Box of Schooling: a cultural history of the classroom* (Brussells: PIE Peter Lang, 2011), p. 197 (emphasis in original).

[117] Ibid.

in practices like corporal punishment but in the school structure itself, as well as in the ideas circulating about childhood and adolescence.

Rather than viewing teachers purely as a conservative force on discipline, I therefore follow Tisdall and Carter in thinking about how their identities were constructed positively, rather than in antagonism to certain ideas. I suggest that teachers' scepticism of psychological approaches, and their uptake of ethnographic social commentary, was not motivated by a total rejection of the former but by their perceived closeness to more social-scientific methods in their own ways of working. Ultimately, this thesis contributes to wider literatures on the history of teaching by positioning secondary-school teachers and their professional experiences as key actors in the construction of adolescence in British education.

(1.1.4) Landscapes of adolescence: places and local democratic institutions

Although this thesis focuses on school discipline, I argue that understandings of discipline rarely respected the enclosed space of the classroom. Instead, teachers turned to their adolescent pupils' landscapes to make sense of their behaviours. Historical attention has recently begun to alight on the idea of a 'landscape', but the notion has lacked a standard definition. My own usage of the term blends approaches from two scholars. From Savage, I have taken the 'landscape' as a physical and metaphorical space conceived by twentieth-century social-scientific enquiry.[118] From Thomson, meanwhile, I have used the idea of a 'landscape' of childhood which carries a psychological, as well as a geographical or sociological, significance.[119] While in broad agreement with both writers' approaches, which

[118] See: Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 22-47.

[119] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 4-10.

carry a great degree of overlap, I propose three different demarcations of landscape to theirs. These are: the landscape as cause, the administrative landscape and the imagined (ethnographic) landscape. Before discussing each below, I quickly outline the wider history of the term.

The arguable originator of 'landscape' in all of the ways in which it has been used was Richard Hoggart's influential *Uses of Literacy* (1957), in which the 'landscape' was a personal, autobiographical one (his opening chapter is called 'landscape with figures').[120] It was a site for observing and understanding working-class culture, as well as a fixed temporal place of memory which emphasised the estranging effects of modern consumer and youth cultures. For Hoggart the landscape was really the 'neighbourhood' which, together with the family, constituted 'the core' around which 'working-class life' was grounded in 'the personal, the concrete, the local'.[121] The neighbourhood and its landscape were here just beyond the threshold of the home, and it was possible to become part of it (the local world and the landscape) 'when you go down the one step or use it as a seat on a warm evening'.[122] It was the second meaning of landscape as a place to observe which came to predominate in sociological thought, and cultural studies especially, while the first meaning (landscape as constitutive of identity) influenced Carolyn Steedman's conception of autobiographical selfhood in *Landscape for a Good Woman*.[123] My re-analysis of Hoggart's work as part of a mid-century domestic ethnographic tradition, together with Savage's and Thomson's applications of Hoggart's 'landscape' to mid-century childhood, stress how the concept has

[120] Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: aspects of working-class life* (London: Penguin, 2009 [1957]), p. 16.

[121] Ibid., p. 22.

[122] Ibid., p. 45.

[123] Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman* (London: Virago, 1986), pp. 6-16.

enjoyed a strangely circular chronology: starting from, and returning to, Hoggart's invocation of mid-century working-class life. I suggest that these uses are productive starting points, but that the landscape was also a space to be governed, and a space that was subject to problematisation.

The causal landscape is best exemplified in the way that, as Thomson notes, the landscape of the urban environment occupies a central space in mid-century configurations of social problems.[124] This evocation of landscape is one marked across a variety of different media and disciplines, as the child and adolescent both provoke social anxieties as they move through the landscapes intended for them.[125] Earlier studies, such as those of Gillis, Hendrick and Davin, have tended to treat the environments and local specifics of adolescence and its dangers as geographically homogeneous, and have reduced the narrative to one of social control based on an undifferentiated 'elite'. This urban landscape has recently been explored for the middle of the century by Thomson and Connell – although the school is absent from these works.[126] I wish to develop the analysis of urban environments further by noting the liminality of schools in these areas. They are not simply institutions, but ones whose staffs respond to the condition of the place in which they find themselves. In the texts that they produced, the adolescent was a key subject of concern within the urban environment. In the context of rising affluence and wages, the new social phenomenon of the 'teenager' was at the vanguard of shifts within youth culture, modes of consumption and patterns of work and leisure.[127] Even self-consciously revisionist literature, such as Selina Todd's efforts to

[124] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 193-198.

[125] Myers, 'Sex, gender and the history of the adolescent body', pp. 98-99.

[126] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*; Connell, 'Race, prostitution and the New Left'; Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth'.

[127] David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c.1920-1970: from ivory tower to global movement – a new history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

reassess the true extent of the so-called 'generation gap' point to affluence as a reality for many young people in the 1950s and 1960s, and the ability to enjoy leisure activities either subsidised through their own wage packets or those of their parents.[128] And yet, by focusing on the older figure of the 'teenager', who enjoyed greater autonomy as an economic agent, such work elides the figure of the adolescent schoolboy as someone even more positioned at the margins and liable to amass concern about changes in youth's engagement with the urban space. That space both provided a realm in which adolescents could move unsupervised – and thus constitute a danger – but also 'safe' spaces such as schools in which they could develop separately. These spaces were seen, and are still seen, as primary constituents of youth identity. For John Springhall, '[w]herever young people have gathered together … they have tended to generate their own styles of life and distinctive patterns of behaviour'.[129] Pomfret, meanwhile, suggests that the young 'negotiate' with the urban environment and world around them.[130] By placing the school within this landscape, it is possible to complicate these linear cause-and-effect narratives; not simply by reflecting on how these seemingly autonomous cultures were policed, but how they were constructed by those observing them. Secondary schools in England after the 1930s were built on the assumption that the adolescent had certain social needs which the structures of the school as a social organisation had to meet. These were spaces designed by adults expressly on the basis of what they thought the adolescent wanted and needed. One of the rationales for extending the age of schooling

[128] Todd and Young, 'Baby-boomers to "beanstalkers"'.

[129] Springhall, *Coming of Age*, pp. 138-139.

[130] Pomfret, *Young People and the European City* p. 7.

derived from a desire to continue the school as a protective force over the developing adolescent.[131]

If the landscape was being increasingly foregrounded as a source of concern and as a site that limited the adolescent's capacities, the administration of that landscape was changing, too. As David Pomfret's comparative study of Nottingham and Saint-Étienne makes clear, if the urban environment and its hazards to health and morals were configured as the *topos* of elite concerns for the working-class youth, civic politics and identity were identified as a solution.[132] Outside of London, education was delivered by the local education authority (LEA), either a county council or a county borough. The latter type had expanded greatly since the nineteenth century, as rapid industrialisation and urbanisation had redistributed population density. These could vary in size and stature from the highly-urbanised, industrial Birmingham to the seaside resorts of the south coast, such as Hastings and Brighton. This local dimension is important because it emphasises not only the role of the local state as an actor in fashioning a landscape for the adolescent schoolchild, but also how those same civic institutions – as services embedded within the landscape – could be made the subject of uniquely local, as opposed to purely national, identities and, in their turn, play into localised anxieties or pride. For instance, when the 1944 Education Act restated and renewed the powers conferred on local authorities at the beginning of the century with regard to the provision of medical services, the Board of Education – transitioning to the status of a Ministry – expressed the hope that this would not adversely affect its relationship to the LEAs. Contemporary officials at the Ministry were keen to avoid being labelled as

[131] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 213-249.

[132] Pomfret, *Young People and the European City*.

'educational dictators' imposing on 'the reasonable freedom of teachers and schools'.[133] Despite a greater degree of central control, they wanted to preserve what an earlier civil servant had termed '[l]ocal patriotism' in which permissive local powers were understood as 'a source of patronage' and 'each cessation of administrative powers whittles away the tradition of local autonomy, of which boroughs and even urban districts are properly proud'.[134]

The areas offered as case-studies here (Birmingham, Brighton and Leicester) were not immune from this. Ian Grosvenor and Kevin Myers have asserted that Birmingham offered a 'civic gospel' of ameliorative municipalism; that its institutions were expanded not purely on the basis of need but because the authority's advances were a source of considerable pride, allowing it to position itself as an advanced city at the forefront of municipal modernity.[135] The local landscape provided a space in which the adolescent could be rendered 'knowable', in Brickell's terms. Grosvenor and Myers provide an example of this through Birmingham's extensive educational census, and the indexing of its After-Care Committee record cards. As the century progressed, these progressively began to cross-reference each other, building up what they term a 'surveillant assemblage'.[136] Of course, such activities had limits. As

[133] The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), ED 136/787, Minute, Sir Robert Wood, 15 April 1944.

[134] TNA, ED 136/131, 'Note on Chapter IX of the Spens Report', Howlett [?], Davidson and Williams to the President, n.d. [1938], pp. 15-16.

[135] Ian Grosvenor and Kevin Myers, 'Progressivism, control and correction: local education authorities and educational policy in twentieth-century England', *Paedagogica Historica*, 42 (2006), pp. 227, 231-233; Levene et al., *Cradle to Grave*, p. 29. Contemporary paeans to British local government include: G. M. Harris, *Municipal Self-Government in Britain: a study of the practice of local government in ten of the larger British cities* (London: P S King & Son, 1939); R. B. Suthers, *Mind Your Own Business: the case for municipal housekeeping* (London: The Fabian Society, 1938); D. Thomas, *Local Government*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968 [1964]).

[136] Ibid., pp. 237-244.

Grosvenor notes in his subsequent study of the educational census' mid-century dealings with racial groups in Birmingham, the indexing and categorisations of households and children were by no means consistent and provide a difficulty for the modern historian in piecing together the hidden meanings behind the thick and thin social description, in addition to the descriptive labels employed, within them. The local provided a way of rendering particular age groups 'knowable', but it did not necessarily do so in straightforward ways, nor in ways that remained constant throughout the twentieth century.

These models can also alert us to the geographical variations in the spread of ideas and practices. Areas like Nottingham, as Pomfret suggests, were 'receptive' to ideas about adolescence and the scientific modernity that the label implied.[137] Leicester, meanwhile, was one of the first sites outside of London to appoint an LEA psychologist and the message of psychological modernity and efficiency identified by Wooldridge and Thomson was highly successful (with some reservations about eugenics) among council members.[138] Yet other areas, industrial towns such as Dudley or Smethwick, were late in appointing psychologists or constituting child guidance services; either through lack of material means or because their school medical officers were resistant to the idea.[139] Brighton, meanwhile, saw its status as a town of leisure as a danger to the resort's resident youth population; faced with transient temptations, and the opportunities for deviant activities, especially during peak season.[140] In considering this aspect, we need to pay more attention to the role played by the local in the

[137] Pomfret, *Young People and the European City* p. 129.

[138] Nevertheless, there were points of resistance, not least over eugenics, with several socialist Catholics serving on the city's Education Committee: Welshman, *Municipal Medicine,* pp. 79-119, 192.

[139] See TNA files: ED 137/535-536, ED 137/608-609.

[140] See: Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 131.

development of the social sciences and the social gaze accordingly. Birmingham, like other large industrial cities, promoted such activities through middle-class learned societies and local branches of the Sociological Society.[141] As Grosvenor and Myers tantalisingly suggest, there is evidence that some working-class people could participate in these provincial worlds, although the narrative is largely of 'professional social science' becoming 'more exclusive in terms of class'.[142] The 'slum literature' was nothing new. Grosvenor and Wright point to its existence in nineteenth century Birmingham – and both likewise point to its role in determining how the city's ruling groups understood working-class identities and culture.[143] The administrative landscape was thus the most dependent on local specificities and personalities.[144]

The last aspect of the landscape on which I wish to focus is the imagined landscape. Reflecting back on the literary landscape (of one of this thesis' case-studies) that he had created in his metaphysical crime novel *Brighton Rock*, the author Graham Greene denied having wanted to offend a town which he had known since childhood. Rather, he had created an 'imaginary geographical region'.[145] He claimed that he was well aware of slum-clearance programmes, already in motion by the 1930s, and of policing efforts that had much curtailed

[141] Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The social survey in social perspective', in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales and Kathryn Kish Sklar (eds), *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 53-56; Welshman, *Underclass*, pp. 15-33.

[142] Grosvenor and Myers, 'Progressivism, control and correction', pp. 234-236.

[143] Grosvenor and Myers, 'Progressivism, control and correction', p. 246; Susannah Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 730-733.

[144] Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, p. 171.

[145] Graham Greene, 'Foreword', in *Brighton Rock* (London: Heinemann & Bodley Head, 1970 [1938]), pp. xi-xii.

local gang activities by his date of writing.[146] Writers on adolescence and landscape, I argue, did the same as Greene; producing locations that were 'imagined' but nonetheless based on 'real' sites and individuals. Moreover, I posit this as central to how teachers and sociologists grappled with the landscape. While in agreement with Savage that sociologists were complicit in privileging a particular vision of the national landscape that rendered 'large swathes of Northern and Midland landscapes' invisible in the 'cultural geography' of national identity, this does not mean that this was true of all landscape representations at this time.[147] The radical Birmingham school (the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies or CCCS) – one strange absence from Savage's book – emphatically did fixate on the urban. Nor does it mean that other socially-inclined groups, such as teachers, ignored the industrial landscape. The landscape exerted a powerful rhetorical influence on the adults who constituted adolescence. Indeed, given their experientially-focused approach to professional identity, teachers viewed their knowledge as superior precisely because they deemed it closer to the lived realities of children. This emerged as a trope in their writings, and the physical landscapes and communities in which schools were sited constituted a central component of this. They offered a specific social environment in which the effects of social changes could be observed, problematised and imagined.

Savage's work highlights the 1950s sociological search for the mythical common ground of the nation.[148] Hoggart, Stuart Hall and the later cultural studies movement took these contemporary concerns further; embedding lives into the landscape and seeking ways of rendering ethnographic descriptions of urban, increasingly multicultural and multiracial,

[146] Ibid. See also: Ben Jones, 'Slum clearance, privatisation and residualisation: the practices and politics of council housing in mid-twentieth-century England', *Twentieth Century British History*, 21:4 (2010), pp. 510-539.

[147] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 143. See also: pp. 137-148.

[148] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 137-164.

communities in their own terms and own languages.[149] Hoggart's imagined landscape was a site for personal memory, but it was also abstracted. It was against the apparently authentic and uncorrupted landscape that Hoggart counterposed his 'candy-floss world' of 'sex in shiny packets', films, rock'n'roll music and 'newer mass art'.[150] Yet how were these imagined sites depicted and represented? As Stephen Brooke and Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite suggest, the social realism of the 1960s, typified in television drama and literary output on working-class lives such as the work of the 'angry young men', spoke to the importance of a sense of geographical place as constitutive of identity and provided one way of visualising it.[151] Thomson and Connell have dealt with pictures of the urban environments of post-war Britain, exploring the complex layers of meaning and valences within the photograph of the child or the marginal group.[152] In this thesis, I rely less on these visual sources in favour of another way of evoking the social world of twentieth-century Britain in *textual* form: the thick description of the social sciences (and especially ethnography). I wish to posit that a wide variety of texts can be considered through this framework. This does not just apply to actual social-scientific research papers, but also literature and other more popular works where the adolescent and poverty were invoked; especially the social realism of the late-1950s and 1960s. Clifford Geertz, who defined 'thick description' for anthropology, considered it as the

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[149] Dennis Dworkin, 'The lost world of cultural studies, 1956-1971: an intellectual history', in Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, *Cultural Studies 50 Years On: history, practice and politics* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016), pp. 3-24.

[150] Hoggart, *Uses of Literacy*, pp. 182, 219.

[151] Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London?', p. 439; Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 'Discourses of "class" in Britain in "New Times"', *Contemporary British History*, 31:2 (2017), p. 308.

[152] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 21-46; Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth'.

hidden meaning lying behind the seemingly objective record.[153] On a basic level, this affects how the language mobilised to describe a culture or a place contributes to its othering, and I use the term in this sense throughout the thesis. However, I also suggest that this textual production is akin to Thomson's and Connell's photographs: it has its own vocabulary that is intended to force a reaction from its audience. While it might not have the same immediacy or raw emotional connection as an image, it aims to do, in linguistic terms, what a photograph does: to fix and reproduce (in the mind of the reader or spectator) a particular impression of a given reality. Unlike a photograph, however, where what is reproduced will be the same for everyone, thick description requires more careful thought to ensure commonality. Of particular interest, as I explore in Chapter Four, is how the adolescent is imagined as the product of a particular landscape. Sometimes this could be a romanticised view; at others condemning or judgemental of communities and social changes. This power of the written text was recognised by the founders of Mass-Observation, when they noted that words possess a 'power of suggesting images' and the 'fascination' of reading returned directives lay in their being 'akin to … the realistic novel, with the added interest of being fact'.[154]

Reading the causal and imagined landscape through the prism of thick description, I suggest, allows us to cut across more simplistic critiques of social documentary in this period and appreciate the everyday ethnography at work. David Limond, describing the work of the children's author and activist, Leila Berg, in relation to Risinghill School, refers to a 'distorting deprivationist discourse' and 'airy anthropological confidence'.[155] While such

[153] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-10.

[154] Madge and Harrisson, *Mass-Observation,* pp. 38, 42.

[155] David Limond, 'Risinghill and the ecology of fear', *Educational Review*, 54:2 (2002), pp. 168-171.

works undoubtedly perpetuate received ideas of the city and urban poor, viewing their productions through the framework of ethnographic 'thick description', allows us to situate them also as part of a wider, contemporaneous turn to landscape, working-class culture and languages of sociology and ethnography.[156] The hidden but central nature of the ethnographic can be observed most visibly in the trajectory of cultural studies itself, with Hoggart later distancing himself from the work being undertaken by Hall and his successors. Hoggart felt these to be lacking the same closeness (or observational empiricism) of his own vignettes of urban life in the Leeds of his childhood which he taught to his CCCS graduate students through the idea of 'reading for tone'.[157]

Hoggart's focus on that proximity demonstrates, I posit, one of the tasks that the landscape was asked to perform in this moment, and one that was central to its utility for the teaching profession in dealing with adolescence. Landscape provided a concrete visualisation of the social world, and it is for these reasons that the imagined landscape presented across literature, film and television was as important as the *real* landscape of local government administration and that invoked as a causal factor. This model opens a window to reassess the work of the teacher-writers, Blishen and Croft, alongside the work of the 'angry young men' and social realism, by considering them more as efforts to describe and fix the working-class world as it was going through a period of profound social change. In identifying commonalities in style and the subjects being described, we can deepen our understanding of how the 'psycho-social' broadened its influence in everyday life.

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[156] As I develop in more detail in Chapter Four, the use of the phrase in this sense derives from the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz: Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 3-10.

[157] Rosalind Brunt, '"Reading for tone": searching for method and meaning', in Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton (eds), *Cultural Studies 50 Years On: history, practice and politics* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016), pp. 91-100.

(1.1.5) The 'pedagogy of discipline'

Throughout this thesis, I employ the term 'pedagogy of discipline' to discuss the meanings ascribed to discipline and punishment, and to stress the ways in which disciplining the adolescent was bound together with implicit and explicit theoretical models of who adolescents were, why they behaved in the way that they did, and how the school could influence those behaviours. The notion of a pedagogy of discipline also serves to bring the various threads examined earlier in this introduction together: landscape provided a space in which to situate the adolescent, while the psycho-social and its composites offered a way of explaining what adolescence and its key changes were. Teachers were its agents, responsible for day-to-day discipline, and adolescents themselves were discipline's willing or unwilling subjects. In thinking about discipline in these ways, it is possible to answer Carter's appeal for more work on secondary education as an otherwise 'neglected site of socialisation and identity formation', and one that was capable of experimentation as much as the primary school.[158] As David Cannadine makes clear in his study of the teaching of history in schools, when considering educational practice and methods, historians should be attentive not just to the *content* of a curriculum but also about pedagogical methods.[159] This is especially the case in the context of a highly decentralised education system that, until 1988, had no national curriculum and in which teachers exercised high levels of autonomy in the content of what was taught.[160] Blishen, although recounting some radical pedagogical experimentation in his

[158] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education', p. 24.

[159] David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: teaching the past in twentieth-century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 219.

[160] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, p. 10; Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education'.

secondary school, describes similar high levels of variability in methods across teaching staff.[161]

A similar case needs to be made about discipline itself. Although corporal punishment remained ubiquitous in schools throughout the twentieth century, and persisted even longer in the secondary schools,[162] it was simply one facet of discipline; and one to which writers on discipline, as teachers, sociologists or psychologists, were keen to suggest alternatives. This thesis is less concerned with the extent of practices, and more with the ways in which they were constructed. Having already undertaken research on corporal punishment, I have largely elided consideration of it directly here. As I argue elsewhere, teachers conceived of corporal punishment in the framework of a 'moral economy', in which beatings enabled a cathartic return to a normal relationship between teacher and pupil.[163] A focus on both relationships and the context of punishment was crucial to teachers' defence of caning from the claims of abolitionist groups such as STOPP (the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment, founded in 1968). This latter group sought to position parents as the primary punitive force, alongside mobilising the sadistic and emotionally-damaging effects of corporal punishment in shock campaigns.[164] Teachers, of course, were by no means united behind corporal punishment (as STOPP's name proves) and debates over corporal punishment settled into

[161] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, pp. 188-196.

[162] This was part of the argument in my MA dissertation, achieved through analysis of school punishment books from Dudley: Andrew Burchell, 'An "educational" or "parental" relationship: psycho-pathology, pedagogy and corporal punishment in English state schools, *c*.1945-1989', unpublished dissertation for MA in the History of Medicine, University of Warwick (2015), pp. 66-68.

[163] Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline in English schools'.

[164] See: Ian Gibson, *The English Vice: beating, sex and shame in Victorian England and After* (London: Duckworth, 1978); Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline'.

wider professional debates over what discipline meant culturally and socially. It is these debates, rather than the politics of corporal punishment itself, which is the focus of this thesis.

The decline of corporal punishment, culminating in its abolition in 1986, goes together with two major shifts discussed in Chapters Five and Six, respectively: an upsurge in concern about discipline as a consequence of the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen in 1973, and the growth of 'systems' approaches to discipline, which sought to anatomise the classroom as an environment of encounters, stimuli and responses which drew from behaviourist psychology. I do not, however, argue for a completely Foucauldian understanding of discipline in this period.[165] Indeed, taking issue with the chronologies offered by Nikolas Rose and others, I suggest that the types of 'governmental' structures that they identify did not emerge until later in my period. The suffused notions of power implicit in 'governmentality', defined by Patrick Joyce as 'governance of conduct in all its forms' through 'technologies of liberalism', is present in the later systems approaches, but elides the more complex understandings of the adolescent at work in earlier periods.[166] David Garland, working more on the penal context than the school, makes a perceptive criticism of Foucauldian theory when he notes that such an approach rarely identifies who (or what) precisely is driving shifts in power and, moreover, fails to grasp the very irrationality of structures of power.[167] The context of Garland's critique, a desire to stress the 'social

[165] In particular, the use of continuous observation (the panopticon) as a form of normalisation, as well as the development of elaborate timetables of activities to produce 'docile bodies', that Foucault developed in the mid-1970s: Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 175-182, 201-216, 228-264. These have been developed by Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: liberalism and the modern city* (London: Verso, 2003).

[166] Patrick Joyce, 'What is the social in social history?', *Past & Present*, 206 (2010), pp. 229-230.

[167] David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: a study in social theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 157, 170.

meaning' of punishment, is one that I argue should be extended to the school and linked more widely into a reappraisal of the cultural and social context of school punishment which, reduced to biopolitical governmentality, risks eliding the place of society as a construct.[168] That diminution of the social is all the more unusual, given the model developed by Foucault's contemporary, Jacques Donzelot, for whom the modern governmental state is bound together as much with the rise of a theory of society and the 'social' (an abstract and hard-to-define concept) as the life sciences.[169] School discipline is even more revealing of this divide.

Thinking about discipline thus provides a new perspective on histories of pedagogic theory, progressivism, and the chronology of changes in practice related to the two. Laura Tisdall suggests, for example, that the post-war period witnessed a turning away from the radical approaches of the inter-war era – and exemplified by A. S. Neill and his school at Summerhill. This is encapsulated in her demarcation of two distinct branches of 'progressive' thought: a 'progressive' and 'child-centred' version. While the former saw education as a 'leading out' of what was in the child, the latter saw the child as a being inherently limited by psychological and biological developments.[170] It was this more 'limited' variant which came to dominate after the war, although the other could still exist in radical forms that were the subjects of polemics in the 1970s.[171] However, I suggest in this thesis that, as far as

[168] Ibid, p. 1.

[169] Jacques Donzelot, *La Police des familles* (Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 2005 [1977]); idem, *L'Invention du social: essai sur le déclin des passions politiques* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994 [1984]).

[170] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', pp. 495-496; Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', p. 25.

[171] Ibid. See, also: John Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority and the William Tyndale Junior School affair, 1974-1976', *Oxford Review of Education*, 28:2&3 (2002), pp. 275-298.

secondary teachers were concerned, and in reading the 'everyday ethnography' that they produced, the 'limiting' factor of adolescence was as much sociological as psychological. Considering these limitations through the question of discipline, moreover, leads to some interesting further distinctions within these approaches. Theorists of the post-Second-World-War period and after are characterised by a keen intellectual pragmatism in relation to the child which by no means signalled total agreement with romantic ideas about unrestrained childish actions. In a 1948 textbook for students of psychology courses in education departments, for example, the psychologist Agatha Bowley observed that:

> our ideas about discipline and child care have radically altered. We have, I think, now passed through the stage of believing in free discipline, which meant a kind of Liberty Hall to all, and was, no doubt, a reaction to Victorian methods. We now recognise the value to a child of a stabilised background, wise standards and intelligent discipline based on true affection.[172]

The prevailing message here was a middle ground of 'freedom through discipline', as it was expressed by another post-war psychologist, J. A. Hadfield, writing in 1961.[173] Concerns about how children's rights should be respected in relation to those of society and adults were already present in embryonic form in the writings of figures like Neill, who stressed that his ideas implied not a dominance of children's interests, but a need for adults and children to co-exist and divide responsibility democratically.[174] The pragmatism of the post-war period, with its seeking of a synthesis between 'freedom' and 'order' was undoubtedly a reaction to

[172] Agatha Bowley, *Modern Child Psychology* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1948), p. 8.

[173] J. A. Hadfield, *Childhood and Adolescence* (London: Penguin, 1962), pp. 109-114.

[174] A. S. Neill, *The Problem Child* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1926), pp. 261-267; idem, *The Problem Parent* (London: Herbert Jenkins,1932), pp. 144-148; idem, *The Problem Teacher* (London: Herbert Jenkins,1939), p. 192.

the memory of war, mixed with a resulting distrust of radical doctrines and a desire to promote a new form of democratic social contract.[175]

A focus on the ideas underlying discipline – or its pedagogies – offers a window onto professionals' own responses to social changes. How far should the discipline to which a child was subject be governed by the disciplinary framework of his family and community? This is especially so in the case of secondary schools, in which, as Tisdall notes, 'progressivism' was only 'partially implemented'.[176] To this end, I argue that the pedagogy of discipline can be formulated in three distinct, although nonetheless highly interrelated, ways. The first of these is as a series of explicit practices in schools that relate to its everyday institutional life. This conception understands discipline as a reactive process against perceived threats to order, and one that took several forms over the course of the twentieth century. Corporal punishment, most commonly through the use of the cane in secondary schools or with informal slapping or cuffing in the primary schools, was part of this. But detaining children, withdrawing their privileges or referring problems to outside agencies such as social workers, psychologists and child guidance were other common practices, and their use grew markedly over the period.

The second aspect is pedagogy at the service of discipline. In this form, discipline was embedded in the curriculum and 'ethos' – a rather slippery word which gained ground through Michael Rutter's work in the 1970s – of the school itself.[177] It was not simply a threat or deterrent that governed interactions, but part of a governmental project to transmit

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[175] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 79-84; Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, p. 44.

[176] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 500.

[177] Michael Rutter, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore, Janet Ousten and Alan Smith, *Fifteen-Thousand Hours: secondary schools and their effects on children* (London: Open Books, 1979).

disciplinary values to the child – what Bowley and Hadfield saw as an ability to get along together in a spirit of good citizenship. Self-discipline, as a personal process, was an end of education in itself. This had been the case since the end of the nineteenth century, when one stated aim of the board schools had been the creation of efficient and disciplined citizens, the recipients of a middle-class 'civilising' mission.[178] Discipline here was a proactive, anticipative and prophylactic process.

Finally, the 'pedagogy of discipline' implies the place of discipline itself as a pedagogical subject; something that the prospective or serving teacher had to learn and transmit to junior colleagues. While the place of discipline in training and intra-professional discourse could vary widely both geographically and chronologically, teachers nonetheless constructed the idea of being able to hold and maintain order in a class as being of paramount importance. The pedagogy of discipline, for them, was thus an integral aspect of their professional lives, their sense of success and, in some instances, of selfhood. This is something reflected in their autobiographical writings and their ways of making sense of adolescent behaviour. It is equally, perhaps, one reason why the questions of behaviour in the classroom were seen to be more important to secondary, rather than primary, staff. The adolescent was physically larger and more threatening than an infant and ensuring that teachers found workable solutions to control them was more urgent.

Richard Farley, author of books on teaching practice and discipline explored in Chapter Four, exemplifies this interplay of classroom practice, content and discipline in a

[178] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'; Sascha Auerbach, '"Some punishment should be devised": parents, children, and the state in Victorian London', *The Historian*, 71:4 (2009), pp. 757-779; Christine Heward, 'The class relations of compulsory school attendance: the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter, 1851-1886', *History of Education Quarterly*, 29:2 (1989), pp. 215-235.

multi-directional process.[179] In particular, he emphasises to his readers a view that children – and the adolescent boy especially – were most prone to misbehaviour when bored. This was likely to occur when the tasks demanded of them were either too difficult or, conversely, too simple.[180] Even reasonably radical commentators such as Michael Duane (see Chapter Eight) and Neill understood discipline and indiscipline as a response on the child's part to the pedagogy employed. The use of democratic structures in the classroom sought to create citizens in the socialist mode, vital to the imagined society envisaged by these authors through education. For all that their formulations were different, these men, including Farley, were educational idealists. Farley even directly admitted to an admiration for Neill's work at Summerhill. What differed was the extent to which the working-class adolescent posed a limit to the art of the possible within the scope of new pedagogical methods.[181] Although Tisdall argues that progressive ideas were only 'partially implemented' in the secondary school, the secondary modern, as Carter's work has demonstrated, could be a site of experimentation, although this declined notably towards the end of the period and was often dependent on the presence of individual, motivated teachers.[182] The post-war period witnessed the popularisation of new pedagogic methods for the modern secondary school. The 'Dalton Plan', while probably little used, shows one way that the kinds of projects employed in primary schools under the banner of 'progressive' or 'child-centred' education could be adapted to adolescents, although one commentator felt that it was 'unsuitable for

[179] Richard Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline: with special reference to the "difficult" adolescent in socially depressed industrial areas* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960).

[180] Ibid., pp. 20-21, 28.

[181] Ibid., p. 13.

[182] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 500; Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education'.

duller pupils'.[183] Under this system, pupils were given a project to complete on a given topic or theme, at which they could work in their own time at their own pace under the direction of the class teacher. This was similar to Steedman's discussion of the 'modified integrated day' for primary schools in the late 1970s.[184] A further variant of this, based on assignments and topic teaching was in use at the school which forms the basis of Carter's case study.[185]

These developments in pedagogy occurred in tandem with shifting views about freedom and democracy in education in the post-war settlement that was led by psychologists. Key to this was the emerging post-war consensus emerging around Bowlby and Winnicott which viewed parental authority, in addition to love, as an integral need in infancy and, more significantly, stressed the child's vulnerability without adult protection. This keen pragmatism in relation to the child exemplified here was supported by many British psychologists. Charles Valentine had published a chapter in a volume on citizenship education as early as 1922; and W. H. Hadow, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield and the chair of the eponymous committee, had published on education for citizenship.[186] This attempt to develop a middle-ground between permissiveness and discipline was reiterated in the opening remarks to a 1974 volume, *Children at Risk*, by one of the psychologists explored in Chapter Three. Her aim was 'to suggest new values and […] "to rediscover an old morality"'.[187] Her pragmatism targeted a 'happy mean' in schools

[183] See: Rex Lyon Bowley, *Teaching Without Tears: a guide to teaching technique* (London: Centaur Press, 1961), p. 128.

[184] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, p. 10.

[185] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern schools', p. 28.

[186] Conrad Gill and C. W. Valentine, *Government and People: an introduction to the study of citizenship* (London: Methuen & Co, 1921); W. H. Hadow, *Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

[187] Agatha Bowley, *Children at Risk: the basic needs of children in the world today* (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1975), p. x.

between ‘more formal methods of teaching’ and ‘permissive methods with the emphasis on free activity and initiative’.[188] Her closing chapter likewise returned to this theme of balance, noting, perhaps prematurely, that ‘[t]he permissive age is … on its way out, and more reasonable and more balanced methods of care on the way in’.[189] Farley likewise held that the understanding of ‘freedom’ had been perverted, stating that ‘this “do as you like” attitude is not my line of country at all’.[190] ‘Freedom’ was here configured as the values of British post-war social democracy: freedom within boundaries set for the benefit of all. This governmentality united a radical belief in equality and redistribution with a conservative protectionism of ‘normal’ family life and mores. One product of this was a view of the classroom relationship as an extension of the social contract, in which Neill’s ‘educational anarchism’ could not ‘be worked within … a state institution staffed by state employees’.[191]

For these figures, then, discipline was connected to pedagogical methods in complex ways, but also to wider discourses about freedom and restraint within the British polity. This highlights how wider concerns with curriculum and school organisation were bound together with questions of order and discipline. For this reason, I consider discipline in this thesis through a broad lens; one which takes account of its place in a complex cultural and social context of schooling, and one whose techniques shifted and altered in accordance with changing theoretical fashions.

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[188] Ibid, p. 43.

[189] Ibid, p. 59.

[190] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 13.

[191] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 13.

(1.2) Sources, methodologies, and the local case-studies

In examining the themes adumbrated above, I have sought to employ a broad – perhaps even eclectic – range of sources. One of the advantages of this approach is that common threads and themes can be identified between them to explore how the pedagogy of discipline was constructed in a complex range of ways. I assert that such a diversity is a strength because it permits us to identify commonalities in themes and tropes across them. Consequently, it offers a useful window onto attitudes and behaviours (that is, the concerns of social history) and identities and self-narratives (those of cultural history). In short, tracing such developments through eclectic perspectives offers a sense of continuity and change across the period of study whilst also allowing understanding of its limitations.

My starting point was material held in The National Archives, including papers from the Ministry of Education and later the Department for Education and Science (DES) concerning their relations with individual LEAs, as well as their own internal correspondence and inquiries into matters relating to school discipline. This included a departmental investigation into the extent of truanting and what they termed 'violent' behaviour in 1975, as well as the Elton Inquiry into Discipline in Schools (EIDIS), established following a further outpouring of teaching-union concern about discipline in 1988. I subsequently turned to examine two main local case-studies, Birmingham and Brighton, which were eventually complemented by a smaller-scale, third study in the form of Leicester.

Within the local records, my main focus was to find evidence both of how discipline was mobilised, if at all, and also in the schools themselves. This meant looking at minute books for the LEA committees, departmental record files (where these survive), as well as log books. The last of these have the added benefit of offering a more personal and immediate perspective on the issue. Examining log-books exemplifies my earlier point about seeking

'tropes', for what is striking are not only the commonalities observable across the books of different institutions, and even those in different places, but equally the idiosyncrasies within just one institution, and often provoked by a change of headteacher. I discuss these in more detail, along with the relevant historiographical theory and methodology for their interpretation, in Chapter Seven. I was also fortunate, when searching through the Birmingham records, to come across several copies of a pupil magazine from a school in the eastern part of the city boundaries of which I have made use in Chapter Eight to access, albeit in a highly limited way, adolescents' own perspectives on discipline and growing up in a particular landscape. Once again, I have confined historiographical discussion to its relevant chapter.

Several organisational and personal archives were also consulted. Although I consulted several union archives at the outset of this project, they are little in evidence in this thesis because their broad range of focus of interests often, ironically, precluded discussion of specific types of children – such as the secondary-modern adolescent. The teaching unions do appear as actors through their dealings with other agencies and their role and voice is preserved in those groups' respective archives, those of the central state and, to a lesser extent, local record offices. The twentieth century is marked by several shifts in the make-up of the unions, and Figure 1 provides a schematic representation of the changes brought about by splits and amalgamations. I have also examined the papers of Leila Berg and Michael Duane, two radical figures in education during this period, and ones who were interested in the impact of landscape on childhood and adolescent development. These personal papers, held at the Institute of Education, are used in Chapter Eight, where Duane's use of oral interviews with adolescent pupils at Risinghill school exemplifies the spread of the sociological methodologies discussed in the middle part of this thesis as well as the ambiguity of the adolescent's own voice.

Lastly, I explore published material of several types. These include published works by psychologists from across the period who sought to popularise theories about adolescence and child development, advice manuals on discipline from teachers, edited collections by educationalists and, as I note above, literary examples. These represent a diverse range of the published output on adolescence at this time, though this can only ever be a fraction of the total of material produced. Although I do not propose to take a prosopographical or biographical approach per se, individual career trajectories are important in situating the theories and methods of these practitioners in their respective contexts and the autobiographical form of teachers' writings is examined. I seek to use individuals representing a diverse range of perspectives to illustrate both the heterogeneity of approaches towards adolescent behaviour but equally the points of commonality within otherwise different disciplinary perspectives. The literary productions from serving, or former, teachers add another perspective, illustrating how individuals could move across boundaries of form and employ their experiences in different spheres. In doing so, it enables me to demonstrate how far the tropes of ethnographic adolescence had become a mainstream current among teachers' depictions of behaviour and the landscape by the mid-century.

If the sources represent an institutional spread, I have equally sought to provide a geographical one. As John Welshman has argued, 'geographical variation' in the provision of educational and healthcare services are a characteristic of the inter-war period, marked by the apogee of local autonomy.[192] A large body of recent scholarship on British local authorities has sought to challenge or nuance the 'decline' thesis for the later twentieth-century, and as I show here, even if authorities were losing their power to take initiatives in matters of welfare, the local could still remain a vector of concern and locally-specific solutions could be

[192] Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, p. 36. See also: Levene et al., *Cradle to Grave*.

advocated.[193] Throughout this thesis, I have made use of local case-studies, which have already been introduced briefly in the sub-section on landscape. These studies are not confined to separate chapters, but are intended to be read comparatively in order to identify both common features across different geographical areas and inevitable local particularities. For this reason, it should be noted that some are mobilised in certain chapters and not others, depending on the material available in the relevant holdings. Related to this latter point are issues of visibility and consistency in accessibility practices. While Birmingham only had a handwritten list to navigate its collection of boxed records from the educational department, the East Sussex Records Office had a fully searchable catalogue which situated each record within its appropriate administrative hierarchy and accession provenance. Leicester was mid-way between the two but, given the contemporary stature of its school psychological service (see Chapter Three), the service was remarkably uncatalogued. Such reflections on the material processes of research are worthy of attention because they demonstrate how access to the stories of adolescence shaped by school discipline and local initiatives are limited by the archival holdings and the means of accessing them. Even *Echo* – a school magazine examined in Chapter Eight – was discovered as a fortuitous mistake by ordering up a box supposedly containing prospectuses and 'miscellaneous' items for Alderlea school.

Initially, my objective was to focus purely on Brighton and Birmingham, two areas characterised by different levels of urbanisation, political control, population concentration, as well as economic activities. In both areas, therefore, I applied for permission to consult the secondary school log-books (which are subject to a one-hundred-year closure period) which are analysed in Chapter Seven and touched on briefly at other points in the thesis. As my

[193] See, for example, the essays collected in Robert J. Morris and Richard H. Trainor (eds), *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); and Robert Colls and Richard Rodger (eds), *Cities of Ideas: civil society and urban governance in Britain, 1800-2000. Essays in honour of David Reeder* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

research explored local provision and records, I decided to add Leicester as a third case to explore the development of local psychological networks and services for teachers. Like Birmingham, Leicester had the particularity of housing one of the oldest and most widely praised school psychology services and child guidance clinics in the country outside of London.[194] However, I did not seek to replicate the log-book study. While all three areas diverge in certain respects, it is important to remember that all are county boroughs (although Brighton did lose this status and was amalgamated into East Sussex in 1974) and are reflective of a single-tier local-government structure which afforded the councils a high level of autonomy which may not have been applicable everywhere.

Whereas Birmingham and Leicester were established boroughs supported by large industries, Brighton had received its charter of incorporation in return for its status as a coastal resort of the wealthy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a status which gradually opened to more of the population with the coming of the railways.[195] Birmingham and Leicester had long traditions of nonconformism and liberal rule and were characterised by the development of municipalist administration, which sometimes veered towards forms of socialism.[196] Early-twentieth-century Leicester soon transitioned to a strong Labour-

[194] The question of which of the two services came first is surprisingly difficult to answer, largely due to differences in approach, nomenclature and consequently effective definition. Both were formed in 1931, but adopted diametrically opposed approaches: Leicester created a 'school psychological service' based around testing and a psycho-therapeutic approach – establishing a child guidance clinic in 1951 – while Birmingham had a psychiatrically-driven child guidance system from 1931 and established a school psychological service only after the Second World War. These two trajectories, which effectively mirror each other, reflect my contention in Chapter Three that John Stewart's child guidance model does not adequately address the diversity of the services within Britain: John Stewart, *Child Guidance in Britain, 1918-1955: the dangerous age of childhood* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

[195] John Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a social history 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983).

[196] Asa Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, Vol. 2, *Borough and City 1865-1938* (Oxford: OUP, 1952).

supporting town, while Birmingham, dominated by the Chamberlain family, moved first in the direction of Conservatism, and only subsequently (after the Second World War) towards the Labour party.[197] Of the three, it is the one which saw the most changes in the balance of power between the parties during the period under study, although like Leicester, had 'strong traditions of radicalism' and both authorities 'perceived themselves as innovative and progressive'.[198]

If Birmingham and Leicester represent civic patronage in cities with a high concentration of manufacturing industries which enjoyed a long liberal tradition and a growing Labour presence, a different story emerges in Brighton. Firstly, it remained relatively stable under Conservative control. Secondly, together with Hastings, Hove and Eastbourne, it was one a handful of boroughs centred on the county's coastal resorts, and, although by far the most populous of the seaside towns, its municipal incorporation in the nineteenth century owed more to its status as a popular destination for royalty than industrial prowess.[199] It would eventually, in the 1974 local government reform, see its borough status terminated, and educational control pass entirely to the county authorities. It is during this

[197] For Leicester, see: Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, pp. 43-45, 68-70. For Birmingham, see: Sam Davies and Bob Morley, *County Borough Elections in England and Wales, 1919-1938: a comparative analysis*, Vol. 1, *Barnsely to Bournemouth* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), entry for 'Birmingham'; Briggs, *History of Birmingham*, Vol. 2, pp. 320-321; Anthony Sutcliffe and Roger Smith, *History of Birmingham*, Vol. 3, *Birmingham 1939-1970* (Oxford: OUP, 1974), pp.80-87. Levene et al, argue that Labour played a significant role in the spread of local interventionism in local medical services to the point of 'energis[ing]' the system, see: Levene, et al., *Cradle to Grave*, pp. 86-87.

[198] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community', p. 158.

[199] Walton, *The English Seaside Resort*, pp. 66, 128-155; C. R. V. Bell, *A History of East Sussex County Council 1889-1974* (London: Phillimore, 1975).

period, that the main interest in school violence emerges, raising questions about the role of changes in local reorganisation to the constitution of problematic youthful subjects.

(1.3) Structural outline of the thesis

The rest of this study is organised into seven chapters and a final conclusion. The first four chapters illustrate the broad chronological shift of developments around adolescence in twentieth-century Britain, while the last two explore specific themes and source-bases. The second chapter explores some of the ideas circulating around adolescence during the inter-war years to which teachers would have been exposed. Employing a few specific case-studies of texts on adolescent development, as well as the two main government reports from this period on secondary education, I argue that the adolescent emerged as a concern in educational terms during this juncture, preparing the terrain for the notion that adolescents should be educated separately from their younger peers. Furthermore, the theories developing in official and academic circles at this moment saw attention alight increasingly on the working-class male adolescent. While efforts at reorganisation were disrupted by the Second World War, they had a major impact on planning for post-war reconstruction. In particular, the image of adolescence as 'a tide rising in the veins' of youth (in the words of the 1927 Hadow Report), and consequently as a moment of change and stress, exerted an influence on what would become the 1944 Education Act which cemented the legal distinction between the primary and secondary stages of the educational cycle.

Chapter Three continues from its predecessor in advancing the position of the adolescent in psychological terms during the post-war period. I argue that adolescents were positioned in this psychological perspective to be more social beings, outside of their families and moving towards the outside environment. But, crucially, and as a consequence of the

post-war settlement's focus on the figure of the infant, this was not sufficiently theorised within psychology, leaving a space for the social sciences. This approach would be increasingly subjected to critique as the post-war period progressed by a more sociological vision, and it was a reality of which psychologists themselves were well aware. Older psychological writers, particularly those who could remember the inter-war period, were increasingly unable to account for the form and extent of the social changes across that period as it impinged upon youth.

The fourth chapter, meanwhile, offers an analysis focusing on teachers' understandings of the landscapes of post-war adolescence. I argue that in the case of adolescents this was complicated by a greater focus on the nature of the urban, working-class environment. Teachers were drawn towards thick descriptions of the 'real' localised environment, in opposition both to the more abstract tendencies of psychological and more academic sociological thought. Drawing on a variety of teachers' writings, from advice books about teaching and discipline to fictional representations of their lives, I illustrate how these frequently invoked ethnographic paradigms in their discourses of life in and around the secondary-modern school.

The fifth chapter analyses how mounting concern around the Raising of the School Leaving Age (RoSLA) in 1973 contributed to the formation of new anxieties about behaviour and helped, once again, to redefine adolescence in the school system. The focus shifted to ever older teenagers, and violent behaviour became more prominently foregrounded as a concern by teachers. But the 1970s also witnessed the decline of the 'landscape' trope in official and union-based discussions. A new empirical and quantitative approach was in evidence at both the national and local levels, and this facilitated the expression of teachers' growing sense of anxiety about changes in the adolescent pupil population. The sixth chapter follows on from this, by asserting that a growth of behaviourist ideas – coupled with the rise

of ‘systems’ theory – contributed to new methods for dealing with adolescent disruption in the classroom. This reached its apogee when anxieties from teaching unions surrounding the 1986 abolition of corporal punishment as a sanction in schools led to the creation of a new government inquiry into discipline which reported in 1989. I argue that this inquiry, through its amassing of research papers and consideration of a wide variety of methodological approaches to understanding the adolescent and his behaviour, emphasises how governmental attention could validate certain methods and practices – in this case, systems – but also signal a shift towards a new approach that appears more imbued with a governmental dimension.

The final two chapters explore specific textual approaches to the study of adolescence and discipline. They take a more tangential approach to the chronology in order to suggest changes over time. In particular, both chapters interrogate questions of social change over the course of the century, and the place of the early 1960s as a moment of particularly accelerated evolution in attitudes and behaviours towards and among adolescents. Chapter Seven uses material from school log-books in Birmingham and Brighton from the 1920s to the 1970s, as well as some reflections on these as a source, to analyse the changing position of the headteacher. These are merged with a discussion of race relations in Birmingham schools to offer an analysis of how teachers constructed differences in age, class and race – but equally how this was inflected through localised concerns about place and class. Together, these highlight other ways in which teaching professionals were able to think ‘ethnographically’ in twentieth-century Britain, but equally the local variations within this and its decline after the 1960s. Lastly, Chapter Eight turns to the productions of adolescents themselves; using a series of transcribed recordings with the pupils at Michael Duane’s Risinghill comprehensive school, and a series of writings included in a Birmingham school magazine, to reflect on how they understood their own gendered, age- and class-based identities, particularly in relation to discipline. Both of these sources come from the early

1960s, and while it would be problematic to make generalisations for the entire post-war period from material produced at a particular conjuncture, they do offer a window onto adolescents at a key moment in the development of youth culture and a time of hiatus between two chronological times of anxiety about the 'teenager': the 'blackboard jungle' and RoSLA. What emerges are new way of thinking about the impact of age on identity at a time when youth culture was emerging in new forms in post-war Britain.

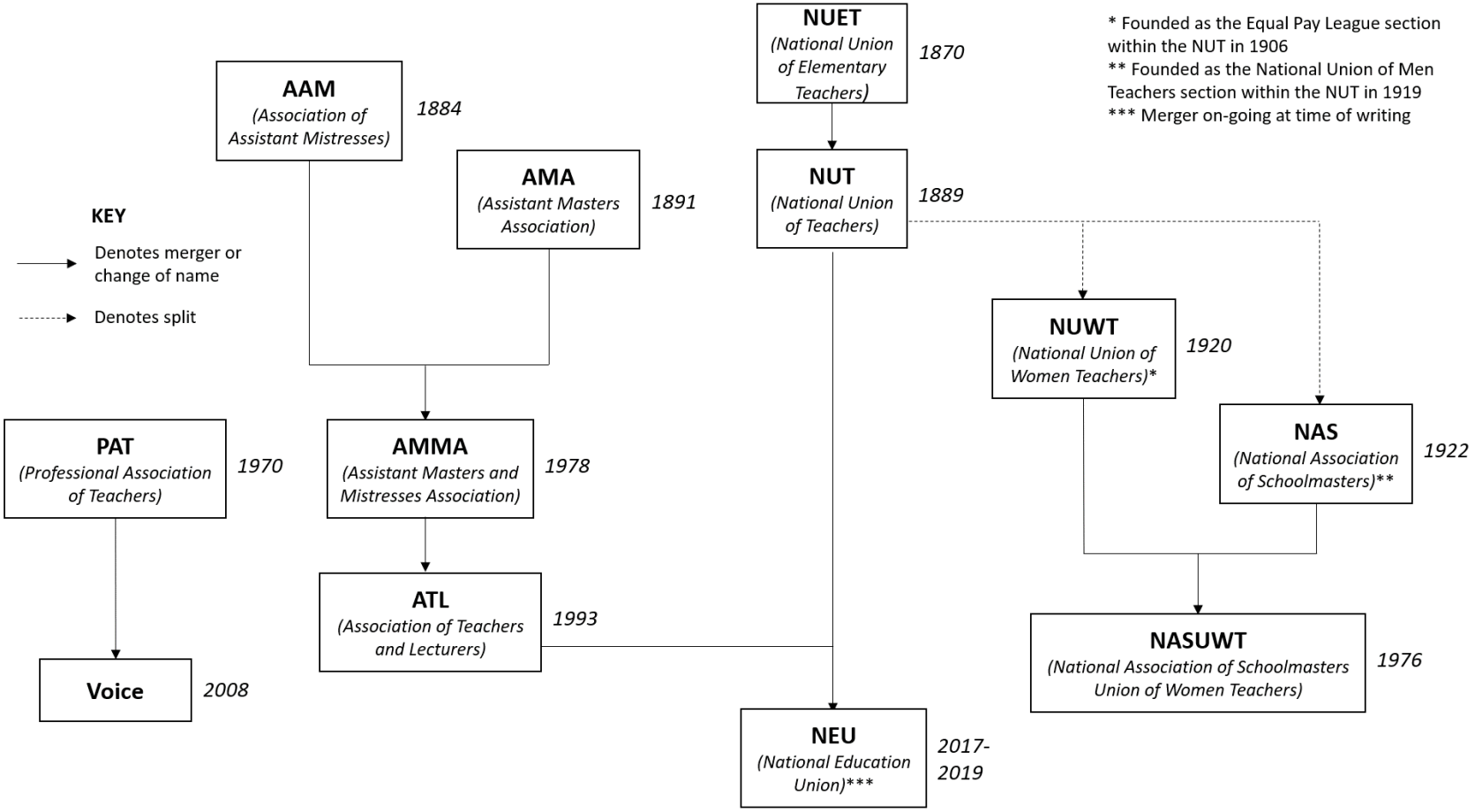

Figure 1 - Schematic representation of splits and amalgamations in teaching union organisation. The author.

CHAPTER 2:

‘A TIDE RISING IN THE VEINS’: ADOLESCENCE, AGGRESSION AND EDUCATION IN BRITAIN, 1911-1944

The first half of the twentieth century saw the adolescent crystallise as both an object of study and a human subject within the school system. This process occurred across a range of domains; from government reports, to psychological research and more popular psychological advice manuals. It was characterised by the rise of developmental theory, in which notions of adolescence were situated in a distinctly psychological and biological framework, and went together with a transition towards an educational system heavily stratified by age. The success of such models can be attributed to the moment itself, when Britain was culturally and socially receptive to psychological theories drawn from a broad and heterogenous range of sources.[1] Yet, although psychologically-centred, the research and advice drew on longstanding interdisciplinary traditions and structures of research dating from late-nineteenth-century child-study, and there is much in this earlier period that anticipates Brickell’s mid-century ‘interdisciplinary soup’.[2] However, while aggression and misbehaviour impinged on understandings of adolescence at this time, they were not necessarily central to the child developmental science which gave rise to theories of adolescence at the end of the nineteenth century. The memory of shell shock and the First World War, coupled with the rise of popularised Freudianism, acted as turning point for this,

[1] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, p. 2; Richards, ‘Britain on the couch’.

[2] Brickell, ‘The teenager and the social scientist’, p. 56.

placing greater focus on adolescent aggression, albeit as an internalised, rather than externalised, process. The emergent concern consequently became to ensure the adolescent's successful transition into a safe adulthood.

The first section of this chapter offers a brief discussion of how concern over adolescence as a key stage in development emerged in early-twentieth-century Britain. I argue that this drew initially from US literature but soon developed into a body of British work more reflective of localised concerns and psychological traditions, modulated by the First World War and the concerns about human nature that it raised. The chapter then moves to explore the Hadow and Spens reports, as exemplary cases of the reach and growth of adolescent theory – and the educational reforms and reorganisations that occurred alongside it – at this time. Finally, I account for the Second World War as a specific moment in focusing attention on the adolescent but which nonetheless set the scene for its post-war limitations.

(2.1) Transatlantic adolescence: adolescence and puberty in America and Britain, *c.*1900-1930

Beginning the analysis of ideas about adolescence in the United States is fruitful for a number of reasons. The North American world has frequently served as a rhetorical foil to Britain, most obviously over the 'blackboard jungle' during the 1950s. But the US was also in a comparatively more advanced position than most European states in expanding access to secondary education. For much of the inter-war period, Britain's sciences of childhood and adolescence benefitted from personal and intellectual exchanges across the Atlantic. John Slaughter, who wrote the first British advice book on adolescence, was a former student of G. Stanley Hall, while several prominent Canadian psychologists of the post-1945 period had

been trained in London under Charles Spearman.[3] There were equally exchange programmes for the training of child guidance personnel.[4] Yet, although both countries shared a similar interdisciplinary approach to the emerging social or 'human' sciences, anthropology and the study of racial and ethnic differences remained a more powerful discipline in the US at this time.[5] Britain's anthropology – as I shall develop in Chapter Four – was more inward-looking when it came to anatomising social structure, and a body of more sociologically-inflected psychiatry subsequently emerged under the leadership of Cyril Burt.[6] This was concerned, in the words of the great British anthropological project, Mass-Observation, with creating an 'anthropology of ourselves'.[7] Indeed, Slaughter was secretary of the Sociological Society at the turn of the century and involved in eugenics education, indicative of the diverse connections between theoretical positions at this time, but equally of the role of domestic concerns in fostering these.[8] All of these indicate a highly multi-faceted approach to adolescence, but one nonetheless firmly rooted in the emerging sciences of the mind; it was through analysing individual and group psychology that it became possible to illuminate the meanings of society.[9]

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[3] Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, p. 45; Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 98.

[4] Toms, *Mental Hygiene*, pp. 1, 10-20; Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 32-33.

[5] Mandler, 'Being his own rabbit', pp. 195-197; Mandler, *Margaret Mead*.

[6] Deborah Thom, 'The healthy citizen of Empire or juvenile delinquent?: beating and mental health in the UK', in Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland (eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam, 2003), p. 196. For examples of this, see: Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (London: London University Press, 1925).

[7] Madge and Harrisson, *Mass-Observation*, p. 10.

[8] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 98.

[9] Thomson notes the influence of Trotter's work on the herd mentality: Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, pp. 212-214.

The contrasting trends within each country are most visible in the work that derived from the intellectual leadership of perhaps the most influential of child and adolescent theorists at this time, Granville Stanley Hall (1846-1924), in which the youthful subjects of study were inserted into a racialised, recapitulatory framework. Hall's celebrated two-volume study entitled *Adolescence* (first published in 1904), privileged a reading of the relationship between physical and mental development at puberty which firmly positioned the latter within the evolutionary development of the white, European 'race'. Adolescence was a state of mental reconciliation to the bodily changes exerted by puberty. Those classed as 'primitive' ethnic groups, by contrast, were deemed incapable of reconciling corporeal, pubertal changes with the mental demands of independent adult life and were thus permanently trapped in a contradictory form of post-pubertal adolescence.[10] In Hall's eloquent and rhetorical language, adolescence marked a 'new birth' after a period of childhood latency in which man's natural instincts for property and dominance were present in inchoate and inarticulate forms, bringing with it the opportunity to gain conscious insight into the nature of one's unconscious desires.[11] While psychology offered scope for self-reflexivity to the advanced and mature, for Hall the '[a]nimal, savage and child … can never be studied by introspection'.[12] A liminal stage of transition between full childhood and full adulthood, adolescence was seen as a more explicit stage, those passing through it having a greater capacity for introspection and also for verbal self-expression.

Adolescence was thus defined two-fold: by its explicitness – an ability to become a conscious subject – and by its connection to notions of cultural and racial superiority. It

[10] Hall, *Adolescence*. See also: idem, *Aspects of Child Life and Education* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1907).

[11] Hall, *Adolescence*, p. xiii.

[12] Ibid., p. vii.

existed because of western modernity's advancements in hygiene, longer education and delayed entry into the labour market. This fixation on adolescence's bio-evolutionary dimensions – with its attendant racialisation of cultural and economic factors impinging upon this – were equally found among Hall's American contemporaries, both psychologists and anthropologists.[13] Margaret Mead's work on coming of age ceremonies in Pacific tribes was perhaps the most influential example, even if it suggested a more cultural basis to adolescence than Hall's model.[14] Luella Cole, writing in 1936, grounded adolescence in industrial modernity, greater wealth and economic structures.[15] Her contemporary Leta Hollingsworth's *Psychology of the Adolescent* (1930), meanwhile, established a similar contrast between the Western world – where adolescence developed incrementally and evidenced a process of 'psychological weaning' – and the sudden initiations of the 'primitive' 'pubic ceremonies' for adulthood.[16] Such work demonstrates the long afterlife of recapitulatory and racial thought, but equally a shift away from Hall and towards a more culturally-inflected stance in the post-1918 United States. The physical changes of 'puberty', in such analyses, defined a universal, human phase of growth; whereas the existence or otherwise of 'adolescence' delineated the boundaries of the civilised world. Approaches like these became highly eclectic as the inter-war period progressed, embracing new, emergent

[13] See, for example: Lawrence Augustus Averill, *Adolescence: a study in the teen years* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1936).

[14] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: a psychological study of primitive youth for western civilisations* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1928).

[15] Luella Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), pp. 3-4.

[16] Leta S. Hollingsworth, *The Psychology of the Adolescent* (New York: Staples Press, 1930), pp. 27-41.

disciplines and attributing the causality of pubertal changes to such diverse factors as exposure to heat, light and a burgeoning field of endocrinology.[17]

Such eclecticism did cross the Atlantic, but often with a greater focus on the domestic social system (rather than those of overseas), and a tendency to address parents and teachers more explicitly. The interpolation of the teacher as a key agent in the transmission of ideas about adolescence was also present from the beginning in Britain, most notably in the first British work to propagate Hall's theories, published in 1911 by Slaughter.[18] *The Adolescent* sold well enough to go through six reprints before 1929 and was also a significant landmark in the popularisation of psychological theories about adolescence to the British public.[19] Dedicated to Hall, and clearly drawing from many of his theories, the work nonetheless revealed several British concerns.[20] Perhaps the most significant of these was the downplaying of American discourses of 'primitivism', although comparisons were drawn between coming of age processes in industrial nations and isolated tribes.[21] For Slaughter, these were more related to a protogenic form of object relations analysis, with the adolescent making a transition from a tribal, anthropomorphic 'projection of images' to an identity based on 'moods' and emotions.[22]

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[17] Tania A. Woloshyn, *Soaking Up The Rays: light therapy and visual culture in Britain, c.1890-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 211; Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence*, pp. 83-84; Mark Jackson, *The Age of Stress: science and the search for stability* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), pp. 99-140.

[18] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*.

[19] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 109.

[20] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, p. v.

[21] Ibid., pp. 2, 10.

[22] Ibid., p. 31.

This last point leads onto the more significant difference between the two nations: a focus on instincts and emotions, such that Slaughter could claim that the 'central fact of adolescence is emotional change' and a rearrangement of the 'emotional factors'.[23] This could have some impact on behaviour, although aggression was not – at this point – namechecked. Instead, 'criminal activity' and delinquency were linked to adolescence but considered a consequence of its capacity for moral questioning and its need to find 'social purposes'.[24] Slaughter likewise drew upon literary examples to illustrate adolescence, as Hall himself had done.[25] Adolescents were seen as 'poets by nature' and regarded themselves as 'the hero of even the cheapest story'.[26] This is relevant if we consider the literary beginnings of a focus on adolescence, and the adolescent's fashioning in the late-nineteenth century as consumers of specific literary forms.[27] There was a mocking tone at work in the fixation on the emotional, literary landscape of adolescence; one which undermined the sense that the adolescent might pose a danger to society. In this British conception, which persisted into the inter-war period, adolescence was as much a moment of light-hearted self-discovery as a time of risk. The attitude of Slaughter and his successors was largely optimistic. Given sufficient and productive support, they maintained that a safe transition could be assured through appeal to the adolescent's developing sense of self, morals and responsibility.

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[23] Ibid., pp. 23-24. On this, see: Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, pp. 54-75.

[24] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, pp. 42, 70-72.

[25] Ibid., p. 5.

[26] Ibid., pp. 28, 30.

[27] Marland, *Health and Girlhood*, pp. 15-41; Neubauer, *Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, 75-91. See also: Justin O'Brien, *The Novel of Adolescence in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

This is not to suggest that adolescence was without dangers. For Slaughter, this was based on the other principal linguistic feature of British psychology: 'forces' which 'break up and recombine' during adolescence to produce its inherent instability.[28] In order to account for behaviour, understanding the underlying instincts was vital. The 'reproductive instinct' was situated at the 'core' of the 'emotional system' and was seen to be at the root of several adolescent issues, not least its 'melancholy'.[29] Slaughter consequently saw the period before puberty as one of stasis in which forces and instincts had been reconciled to the temporary cessation of growth and the child was 'largely stationary'.[30] This periodisation of the lifecycle into stages based on instincts was another key component of British psychological theory and one which cut across theoretical rivalries, being common to Freudian, dynamic and more behaviourist trends. Shifts in the forces were related to changes in motivation for certain acts. The 'cruelty' of children, noted Slaughter, was 'no longer thoughtless' in adolescence, and was carried out in full knowledge of its effects.[31]

The (often implicitly male) adolescent in these early-twentieth-century conceptions was thus defined by two factors. Firstly, he was a conscious being, becoming increasingly aware of his own position in society and the nation. Secondly, he was more emotional and beset by different 'forces'. It should be noted that one intriguing aspect of these contemporary ideas remains the way in which the first is in implicit tension with the latter: the unconscious forces threatened the development of the conscious self. This was something

[28] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, p. 1.

[29] Ibid., p. 32-33.

[30] Ibid., pp. 9, 23.

[31] Ibid., p. 75. See: L. S. Hearnshaw, *A Short History of British Psychology, 1840-1940* (London: Methuen & Co, 1964).

to which British inter-war commentators returned, albeit with greater focus on aggression in the aftermath of war.

(2.2) Between 'consciousness' and 'instinct' in aggression: British inter-war adolescent psychology

While American theorists placed a great burden upon demonstrating how far adolescence and its discontents were by-products of Western modernity, British psychologists, on the whole, were more interested in unravelling what the awakening instincts and drives of adolescence meant for society and how best these could be controlled to ensure maximum adjustment into adult life. In the aftermath of the First World War, however, there was a new focus on aggression as it interacted with development and growth, motivated not so much by a pessimism in human nature, but a belief that such nature could be better conditioned to social structures. Childhood, and subsequently adolescence, brought with it the emergence and awakening (in successive stages) of evolutionally-ingrained reflexes and drives. These became more complex and, under Freudian impetus, abandoned the idea of pre-pubescent childhood stasis that had been so central to Slaughter's vision of adolescent difference. The objective of psychological intervention in Britain was to ensure that the drives – and the individuals exhibiting them – were maximally 'adjusted' to their surroundings and environment. Inter-war Britain has been characterised by the emergence of a popularised 'Freudish' consciousness.[32] The true extent of the permeation of discourses deriving from Freud, if not wholly attached to psychoanalysis, has been debated. A more heterogenous image has been proposed by Thomson, while Shapira and Anne Karpf have highlighted the

[32] Richards, 'Britain on the couch'.

emergence of 'Kleinian' middle-ground after what they identify as a turning point in the Second World War.[33] Such debates, however, serve to misrepresent the many agreements between the broad range of opinions in schools of developmental psychology at this time, which shared beliefs about underlying instincts as well as common social concerns.

One example of such commonalities are approaches to social difference. Although British psychologists did not ignore racial questions – indeed, the imperial metropolis could hardly be unreceptive towards theories which upheld notions of white dominance – such debates merged with longstanding concerns about the metropole's social body politic and its hierarchies. Burt's work on delinquency, with its attempt to reconcile social and 'genetic' (that is, inherited) factors, is the most visible facet of a preoccupation amongst his peers with the effects of a complex interplay between social *milieu* and inherited, familial characteristics on children's developing instincts.[34] One explanation for this, as noted in the introduction, is the comparative weakness of anthropology in the British context, as compared to America.[35] The languages of race and class had also been heavily entwined in nineteenth-century Britain as focus alighted on reading the visible differences of the working-class body.[36] Britain was consequently more introspective in thinking about 'othered' social groups, and using psychological insights to produce ethnographies of the urban poor.[37] If anxieties around 'race' (and attendant fears of decline or miscegenation) were central in the American context,

[33] Anne Karpf, 'Constructing and addressing the "ordinary devoted mother": Donald Winnicott's BBC broadcasts, 1943-62', *History Workshop Journal*, 78 (2014), pp. 97-100; Shapira, '"Speaking Kleinian"'; Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, p. 2.

[34] Burt, *The Young Delinquent*.

[35] Lemov. *World as Laboratory*, pp. 147-169; idem, *The Database of Dreams*, pp. 48-54, 191.

[36] Koven, *Slumming*, p. 44, 61.

[37] Hinton, *The Mass Observers*, pp. 11-14, 31-35.

the analysis of family and landscape facilitated British commentators' treatment of that peculiarly British obsession: the class system.[38]

The focus on instincts as mediated by class also meant that British psychological opinion was, at least in this earlier period, far less accepting of behaviourism than the US, preferring a more dynamic approach to understand psychopathology. Coupled with a much weaker eugenics movement, at least in political terms, these ideas found their outlet in British debates over heredity and environmentalism and were filtered through concerns over welfare, national fitness and 'efficiency' into early welfare policies.[39] Among such outputs were the school medical services and the child guidance and psychological services.[40] These shifts may well account for the two principal changes of this period. The first of these was the legacy of the First World War on the nation's perception of human nature and masculinity. This accounted for a greater focus on the adolescent boy rather than the girl, but equally placed an emphasis on metaphors of violence and destruction to describe not the individual adolescent but the mental processes of puberty. The second was the growth of interest in education as a site of adolescent development which set the tone for post-war developments.

(2.2.1) The legacy of the First World War: reconstructing masculinity and youth

[38] For examples of the class system and landscape in sociological and psychological research, albeit from a later period, please see: John Barron Mays, *Growing Up in the City: a study of juvenile delinquency in an urban neighbourhood* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964).

[39] Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: eugenics, democracy and social policy in Britain, c.1870-1959* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[40] Stewart, *Child Guidance*; Deborah Thom, 'Wishes, anxieties, play and gestures: child guidance in inter-war England', in Roger Cooter (ed), *In the Name of the Child: health and welfare, 1880-1940* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992), pp. 200-219; Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, pp. 6-25.

Much recent literature on the aftermath of the First World War and the inter-war period has emphasised its strangeness; a society in flux explorable through case-studies of responses to scientific or social change.[41] Work on masculinity and the memory of war has equally demonstrated the pervasiveness of shell-shock as a metaphor for thinking about masculine identity and health long after 1918.[42] The period was also marked by a desire to control and restrain manifestations of violence – although psychological opinion did differ on this – and by the emergence of what David Hendy has called a more 'affective' worldview.[43] The most notable contribution to British adolescent psychology in this period is Christopher Stanford Read's *The Struggles of Male Adolescence* (1928).[44] Although very much a Freudian-influenced work, Read turned constantly to metaphors of war and conflict in understanding this stage, all the more noticeable given that much of Read's earlier work had on centred shell-shock. A military doctor at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, which treated many cases of the condition, Read subscribed to an aetiology which saw shell-shock as emotional in origin.[45] Noting that in 'a large majority of cases the abnormal symptoms following so-

[41] Matt Houlbrook, *The Prince of Tricksters: the incredible true story of Netlet Lucas, gentleman crook* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Katy Price, *Loving Faster Than Light: romance and readers in Einstein's universe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Susan Kingsley Kent, *Aftershocks: politics and trauma in Britain, 1918-1931* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[42] Reid, *Broken Men*; Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*.

[43] Lawrence, 'Forging a peaceable kingdom'; David Hendy, 'The Great War and British broadcasting: emotional life in the creation of the BBC', *new formations: a journal of culture/theory/politics*, 82 (2014), pp 82-99. Evan Durbin and John Bowlby put forward a different case about aggression in *Personal Aggressiveness and War* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1939).

[44] Charles Stanford Read, *The Struggles of Male Adolescence* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928).

[45] Charles Stanford Read, *Military Psychology in Peace and War* (London: H K Lewis & Co, 1920), frontispiece. See also: Julie Powell, 'Shock troupe: medical film and the performance of "shell shock" for the British nation at war', *Social History of Medicine*, 30:2 (2017), pp. 323-345; Reid, *Broken Men*.

called shell shock are emotional in origin, and not due in any way to trauma', he corresponded to the general trend of interpreting the condition through the framework of an emotional instability unleashed by temporary exposure to a traumatic event.[46] From here, he moved into work on *dementia praecox*, a condition further influenced by wartime concerns and defined by a 'general disintegration of the whole personality' – a literal blowing apart or emasculation of the pubescent psychological subject.[47] The use of warlike metaphors in his writings therefore captured the idea of adolescence as a struggle for dominance over the instincts described by Slaughter but also imbued them with an authoritative power drawn from recent history. For Read, *dementia praecox* was a pathologisation of the adolescent's internal, phantasy world. Characterised by 'a "shut-in" type of personality', it could manifest itself through 'frequent states of day-dreaming … lack of interest in games, sport, and the external world generally' alongside 'irritability'.[48] The latter was the closest Read came to direct discussion of aggression committed by adolescents in the text. This is noteworthy because it indicates how far inter-war psychology viewed problematic adolescent behaviour less as a pathology in itself, but rather as the symptom of a heroic battle to control an internalised aggression.

In *The Struggles of Male Adolescence*, published eight years after his work on *dementia praecox* and shell-shock, Read stressed the importance of adult 'guidance' for the adolescent male, framing this as vital to help the young overcome 'the dynamic forces of instincts and emotions' in which 'we must seek the key to an understanding of such conflicts

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[46] Read, *Military Psychology*, p. 89.

[47] Charles Stanford Read, 'The major psychoses in general practice', in Millais Culpin, *The Nervous Patient* (London: H K Lewis & Co, 1924), p. 237.

[48] Ibid., p. 236.

… and the abnormalities that tend to follow them'.[49] Read posited a connection between the 'reactivation of old instincts' and the 'stimulation of new ones' in adolescence with 'a natural tendency to instability' that, taken together, 'so often lead to delinquency and crime'.[50] The language of disintegration and reintegration had certainly been present in Slaughter, but the violent, aggressive images of conflict and war as metaphors for development were new. Structuring his book into two parts – 'The Warring Forces' and the effects of 'Conflict' – Read further underscored his vision that, ultimately, the large majority of male adolescents passed through this phase of their development normally. In an ironic twist, such bellicose terms belied an unalarming message of adolescence as banal. This ambivalence within the language – between optimism and fear, normality and conflict – appears in the work of contemporary writers, including Ethel Mannin's *Common-Sense and the Adolescent* and Olive Wheeler's *The Adventures of Youth*.[51] Each of these two emphasises a slightly different aspect of this idea: adolescence as an 'adventure' and adolescence as something normal and amenable to the logic of sense.

In general, then, the inter-war period is defined by a turn towards psychology to explain phenomena of growth, development and their attendant risks. But it is equally marked by a focus on gender and increasingly warlike language, one which, crucially, saw aggression as internal rather than external. Within such discourses, the school was largely lost, although Read did believe that it served as a site of discipline and control. The teacher, he argued,

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[49] Read, *The Struggles of Male Adolescence*, p. 201.

[50] Ibid., p. 199.

[51] Ethel Mannin, *Common-Sense and the Adolescent* (London: Jarrolds, 1937); Olive Annie Wheeler, *Youth: the psychology of adolescence and its bearing on the reorganisation of adolescent education* (London: University of London Press, 1929); idem, *The Adventure of Youth: the psychology of adolescence and its bearing on the extension and reform of adolescent education* (London: London University Press, 1945).

became ‘a parental substitute’ and would likely elicit similar ‘emotional reactions that are manifested in … the home sphere’.[52] Meanwhile, the 1928 publication date leads to the conclusion that it was the publication of the Hadow report a year earlier that had prompted the writing of the book. It is to this that the chapter now turns.

(2.2.2) Making age and development central to education: the Hadow and Spens Reports, 1927 and 1938

Inter-war psychology was adapting to the idea of adolescence, and slowly carving out niches for it in the literature. One place in which theories of development and age could exert a substantive influence was in education, where an adapted school environment came to be seen as vital for the adolescent and supported by national and local policy. The education of this group separately from younger children – yet still isolated from the potentially corrupting environments of the adult workplace – was considered better suited to their time of development.[53] The success of such an endeavour, however, required pedagogical alertness to adolescent needs and teaching methods suited to their simultaneous thirst for independence and strong leadership. This was achieved through the two significant reports on secondary schooling of the inter-war period: the Hadow Report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (1926) and the Spens Report, *Secondary education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (1938).[54]

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[52] Read, *The Struggles of Male Adolescence*, pp. 93-94.

[53] For concerns, see: Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 213-214. Marland similarly discusses the working-class ‘factory girl’: Marland, *Health and Girlhood*, pp. 155-188.

[54] *The Education of the Adolescent: report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent* (London: HMSO, 1926); *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools* (London: HMSO, 1938).

Prior to 1944, the state education system was divided into elementary schools, under local authority control, which catered for virtually all children between the ages of five and fourteen, and selective secondary schools (sometimes under a separate authority). The upper age limit had been progressively increased from the introduction of compulsory schooling in the 1880s, coinciding with national legislation and local bye-laws on the employment of children. 'Secondary' education, of the kind invoked by Slaughter and his successors up to the Second World War, was consequently different in meaning from that after 1944. It implicated only a handful of endowed or scholarship schools, usually targeted at those children who had passed qualifying examinations. In 1918, the exemptions to the school-leaving age provisions contained in the 1902 Education Act were removed, instituting a common age of fourteen across England and Wales. The definitive upper age bracket brought the younger adolescent firmly within the school for the first time. Moreover, as Hendrick notes, the failure of the 'day continuation school' movement to provide effectively for the population who had left school at fourteen after 1918 promoted a consensus that some kind of special educational system for the adolescent was necessary.[55] Meanwhile, the elementary schools inherited from the late-nineteenth century were often organised by ability as opposed to age. Large classes of mixed ages based on a series of measurable 'Standards' in the basic capacities of reading, writing and arithmetic were common.[56] Criticism of this approach from psychologists was rife, particularly as it was alleged to ignore the differences in development between children at each stage of development.[57] Selective secondary education was itself

[55] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 213-249.

[56] *Education of the Adolescent*, pp. 12-18.

[57] Ibid.

equally condemned, including by Slaughter, for its focus on dry intellectualism over appealing to the adolescent's perceived need for practicalities.[58]

Concern over what should happen to adolescents – and the need to expand secondary education to cover a broader population – were at the centre of Hadow, which marked one foray of developmental theory into the work of the Board of Education's Consultative Committee. Much of the theoretical basis to the report came from its expert witnesses, including the psychologist T. Percy Nunn, but the influence of adolescent psychology appears largely to have been implicit, rather than explicit, in the exposition of the report's key recommendations and findings. From the outset the report defined its terms rather abstractly and lyrically hinted at an awareness of the potential for post-pubertal development to create strength, but also vulnerability, in its young subjects:

> There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will 'move on to fortune'.[59]

The report thus offered an optimistic assessment of the risks in development but nonetheless advocated appropriate guidance. By conceptualising adolescence as a 'tide', with 'currents' and 'flows', the report's authors offered official validation to the shibboleths of British psychological theory equating the period of post-pubertal development with the awakening of new 'forces' and desires within the child. Adolescence, in this analysis, was marked by boys and girls becoming 'conscious of new powers or interests', as well as having offered to the

[58] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, pp. 80-87.

[59] *Education of the Adolescent*, p. xix.

trained adult eye 'some indication of differences in interests and abilities'.[60] Education, the authors of Hadow felt, would function better 'if its successive stages are related to each other in such a manner that the beginning of new stage in education may coincide with the beginning of a new phrase in the life of the children themselves'.[61]

The coming of adolescence therefore signalled the need for a shift in education. The report recommended that the requirement on local authorities to ensure 'elementary' instruction be replaced with one to secure separate stages of 'primary' and 'secondary' education.[62] Its authors proposed a sharp division into two successive stages – albeit ones which were greatly differentiated according to the child's perceived abilities. The two stages were to be divided in terms of space, as well as age, and where 'senior' classes existed these should ideally move into separate buildings.[63] This was expressed most directly in the assertion early in the body of the report, with reference to the United States and its policy of ensuring that 'primary and secondary education are normally intended not to be parallel, but successive'.[64] The key to the centralisation of the psychological, as much as physical, in the development of report's logic can be found in a footnote midway through the findings. The proposed age of transfer at eleven, the authors asserted, is 'not intended to be used in a precise chronological sense', but rather was a general correlation of the life-stage with the age for the average onset of puberty in normal individuals. This was expressed in a quotation from Nunn regarding 'the principle that education falls naturally into two divisions or

[60] *Education of the Adolescent*, pp. 74-75.

[61] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[62] Ibid., p. xxi.

[63] Ibid., p. 91.

[64] Ibid., p. 37.

planes', the 'education of childhood' and the 'education of adolescence'.[65] It is worthy of comment, perhaps, that Nunn chose to define this in deliberately abstract terms: the 'education of adolescence', indicative of the life stage as a whole, rather than as concrete recipients of schooling ('the education of *adolescents*'). The idea of adolescence became a metonym, with the stage enclosing the subject.

One concrete effect of Hadow was to encourage a process of reorganisation at the local authority level which first separated out 'senior schools' from elementaries and began to introduce more rigid age-stratification. This occasionally revealed earlier endeavours in this direction. Birmingham began such a process in the late 1920s, but the grounding had been prepared earlier, with several school log-books noting that courses and lectures had been organised for teachers on the subject.[66] References by 1931 in one such log-book to a streaming system equally indicate the redundancy of the 'standards' and the introduction of organisation according to age.[67] In Leicester, meanwhile, a local consultative committee on senior schools reported in February 1933. This noted, somewhat self-congratulatorily, that the process of 'grouping' – an earlier version of the post-1944 tripartite system – had begun in the city in 1921, with 25 per cent of children destined for grammar schools and the remainder for senior schools 'where provision was made for their education in two or three parallel

[65] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[66] BAHPS, S 44/1, Canterbury Road Council School Girls' Department, log book, entry for 9 May 1930; S 18/1/1, Bierton Road Schools, log book, entries for 23 October 1929 and 8 May 1930; and S 269/3/1, Station Road Girls' School, log book, entry for 25 July 1929; BAHPS, S 222/1, Yardley Wood Council School (Boys), log book, entry for 24 August 1931; and S229/2/1, Upper Highgate Street Girls' School, entry for 5 June 1931.

[67] BAHPS, S 22/1, Birchfield Road Secondary School, log book, entry for 17 July 1931.

classes for each year of age'.[68] Leicester's reforms are, of course, highly atypical.[69] Attempts to universalise secondary education in other, often Labour-dominated, boroughs in this era (such as Smethwick) met with opposition from the Board of Education.[70] Concerns over the impact of children not being able to progress in the standards lay behind the initial change.[71] Brighton, in contrast, had very little to say about the adolescent; although it, along with its neighbouring borough of Hove, did move towards a separation of senior and junior schools from 1929 onwards.[72]

The Leicester report's authors did allude to the issue of behaviour as a concern within reorganisation and adolescence, but even here noted that 'while children to-day may not appear to be as respectful of authority as hitherto, this is merely a fault in demeanour and is not necessarily indicative of the children's real feelings'.[73] 'Allowing for the fact that "boys will always be boys"', they noted, 'the modern boy is "quicker in the uptake"' even if he 'tends to be less industrious than his predecessor, … and tends to have less regard for the value of property and the necessity for economy'.[74] They felt that in the case of 'the

[68] Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland Record Office (LLRRO), 19D59/VII/417, Education Committee minutes, 'Senior Schools: Report of the Consultative Committee', February 1933, p. 7.

[69] Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, pp. 43-45, 68-70.

[70] See: TNA, ED 53/679.

[71] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/417, Education Committee minutes. Copy of 'Senior Schools: Report of the Consultative Committee', February 1933, p. 7.

[72] East Sussex Records Office (ESRO), BH/F/11/1/1/1, Whitehawk Senior Boys' School, log book, entry for 25 April 1933; ESC 27/1/4, Queen's Park Boys' School, log book, entry for 3 September 1929; ESC 104/1, Haddington Street School/East Hove School for Bpys, log book, entry for 16 September 1929.

[73] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/417, Education Committee minutes. Copy of 'Senior Schools: Report of the Consultative Committee', February 1933, p. 10.

[74] Ibid., p. 11.

adolescent youth of to-day there is need for more self-discipline' and were keen to promote the role of religion and religious instruction but stopped short of considering aggression.[75]

If psychological theory was referenced in Hadow and implicitly guided its recommendations, the Spens Report of almost exactly a decade later marked what, for Wooldridge, was the apogee of psychological influence over the affairs of the Consultative Committee.[76] Unlike Hadow, the psychology and physiology of development were prioritised in the report's very structure. Spens devoted the entirety of its second chapter to a consideration of 'the more salient features in the physical and mental development of children between the ages of 11+ and 16+'.[77] Once again, adolescence was defined as a state of being which merged the physical and corporeal with the psychological. However, while Hadow made little reference to pupil's behaviour or concrete symptoms of maturation (which had been excluded from its immediate remit), Spens took a more direct approach to the issue, referencing the belief that 'some of the behaviour difficulties which occur in children during the stages of puberty and adolescence, are undoubtedly due to lack of balance in the secretions of the ductless glands'.[78] Part of this was an 'instinct of pugnacity' as well as 'an outer hardness of attitude … amounting at times almost to definite cruelty'.[79] This, as in the Leicester example above, was held to necessitate understanding towards examples of resulting problematic behaviour. Although the authors denied that 'actions which are anti-social in character should be condoned as the inevitable result of glandular disturbances',

[75] Ibid., p. 12.

[76] Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, p. 236.

[77] *Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools*, pp. 107-139.

[78] Ibid., p. 114.

[79] Ibid., p. 136.

they did advocate efforts by teachers 'to understand these difficulties, and not to treat them as examples of mere naughtiness'.[80]

The adolescent to emerge here was certainly more unsettled than that imagined by Hadow, and it is significant in this respect that such a shift took place only after some reorganisation had already occurred. Adolescent behaviour seemed to become a greater concern for teachers as they came into higher levels of contact with it. This was perhaps a reflection of rising social fears regarding juvenile delinquency, which had emerged during the upheavals of the First World War and would do so again after 1939.[81] Spens even noted this directly, stating that 'there will probably be minor disciplinary difficulties both in and out of schools' as a consequence of universalised secondary education and that 'children seem to go through a definite phase of petty crime or vice particularly towards the end of' adolescence.[82] This, together with the complex interplay of instincts and emotions, produced emotional 'inconsistencies': 'bashful; and at the next moment aggressive', the 'overflow of these extensive animal spirits often leads to frequent collisions with authority … and, even within [the adolescent's] own mind'.[83] Once again, the internal aggressivity was as important, if not more so, than outward manifestations and the stress of the advice and recommendations remained on adult patience, support and understanding.

Much of the discussion generated by both reports, other than in the medical press and psychological journals, did not invoke the questions of child development nor psychology

[80] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[81] Jackson, *Policing Youth*; Thom, 'Healthy citizen of Empire'.

[82] *Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools*, p. 136.

[83] Ibid., p. 136-137.

which the both Hadow and Spens were keen to cite and promote – the former more cautiously, the latter quite forcefully.[84] Even the NUT was more concerned with the concrete, practical recommendations of the Hadow report on staffing levels and building provision, rather than with the assumptions about the growing child, and the prospect of disciplinary problems, which lay behind them.[85] Despite the evident roles opened to psychology in the local and national state, then, this advisory capacity had limitations. Wooldridge has noted that the authority on which psychological contributions to Hadow and Spens rested could be highly tenuous. By 1943, admittedly during an exceptional moment of wartime conditions, the Norwood Report into secondary curricula would disagree with many of the theoretical models outlined in the earlier reports.[86] This should not, however, negate the impact evident in local authority areas. The decline in the Standard system and an increasing separation of 'senior' school facilities from junior and infant ones are significant for post-1944 developments. The senior school would gradually develop into the secondary modern school of the post-war period and would have many continuities (in terms of internal organisation and curriculum) with it. For the 'secondary' school to emerge as a mass site of working-class adolescence, however, it first had to pass through the experience of another war which renewed focus on aggression and human nature.[87]

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[84] P. B. Ballard, '[Review] The Spens Report', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1939), pp. 196-200; Olive A. Wheeler, 'Modern psychology and the Spens Report', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1939), pp. 224-232.

[85] NUT, *The Hadow Report and After: being a statement by the Executive of the National Union of Teachers upon certain recommendations of the Board of Education, and upon the reorganisation of the educational system now contemplated by the Board* (NUT: London, n.d., [*c*.1927]).

[86] Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, pp. 260-261.

[87] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, pp. 216-227.

(2.2.3) The adolescent at war: a more invisible subject

The Second World War provided an impetus to expand child guidance and school psychological provision in local authority areas, and this expansion is one of the main impacts on child health noted in the historiography.[88] While services pre-existed in Birmingham and Leicester, one area to benefit was East Sussex through a temporary clinic founded by the psychiatric social worker Robina Addis.[89] The initial report of that clinic noted that 'a large proportion of the cases under treatment are adolescents; this is not due to any preference on the part of the psychiatrist, but because these cases happened to present the most urgent problems'.[90] The almost apologetic turn of phrase ('this is not due to any preference…') in which the statement concerning the adolescent is written reveals much about how the author expected the local patrons to perceive the inclusion of this group. Addis and her psychological team clearly felt that their intended audience of policy makers and elected officials had highly pre-conceived ideas about the age of children for whom the service was designed (predominantly young children and infants) and may have enquired why adolescents were so prominent in the cases treated. In Birmingham, by contrast, there was little concern for adolescent children as a specific group. A survey into children's experiences of air raids, undertaken for the city's education committee in the early part of 1942 by the city's child-guidance psychiatrist, Charles Burns, asked teachers to rate various parts of the child's behaviour but paid little attention to the ages of the children involved. The

[88] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 107-124.

[89] TNA, ED 137/135, East Grinstead Vocational and Child Guidance Clinic, 'Report for six months. November 6th, 1942, to April 30th, 1943'.

[90] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

survey did find, however, that there had been greater 'increases in the forms of behaviour involving activity and violence' compared to 'those involving shrinking and withdrawal'. Burns read this as evidence both that children's response to war was a sign of nervousness and that this was more related to the disruptions of war (lack of sleep, for instance) rather than a direct consequence of more present aggression and strain in the community.[91]

Birmingham and Brighton's differing treatment (or absence) of the adolescent indicate contradictory trajectories for the group during the conflict, one which may have been exacerbated by the adolescent's position in the wartime school and social structure. In the case of adolescent boys specifically – young enough to be preparing to leave school but not yet old enough for military conscription – the war may well have presented specific problems concerning proving masculine worth. As a report on children and air-raids, carried out for the Board of Education in Middlesex, expressed it: 'the child's brank [*sic*] interest in war facts is not normally accompanied by war worry. He has little appreciation of possible consequences, either to himself or others'. The adolescent, by contrast, was seen to be more grounded in reality and aware of wartime realities than the younger child, with the result that the stresses of the environment exerted a more pronounced effect.[92] The adolescent thus suffered from adult awareness coupled with the powerlessness of the child, and this internal conflict posed risks. In common with what would develop into the post-war consensus, and explored in the subsequent chapter, the trend between 1939 and 1945 might be seen as one of a growing problematisation of young children accompanied by only a limited turn towards adolescence.

[91] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/10/1/1/30, Hygiene sub-committee minutes, 12 March 1942, item 9650. See also: BCC/1/BH/10/1/1/30, Hygiene sub-committee minutes, 12 March 1942, attached typescript, 'Effects of Air Raids on School Children. Results of a Questionnaire to 500 Birmingham Teachers'.

[92] TNA, ED 50/206, V. Ball, typescript, 'Children's Reactions to the War', p. 2.

To be sure, adolescence was present as a factor of psychological analysis by the late-1930s, and this endured into the war. The difficulty, however, stemmed in mobilising the adolescent to influence policy. Several studies published during the war, including responses to the Norwood report, employed it as an organising category; indicative both of the strength attached to age divisions in research and the pervasiveness of the theory of developmental stages.[93] Aggressive behaviour, too, made an appearance; often through the prism of the juvenile delinquent and approved-school child.[94] The war did bring some focus to the adolescent's specificities, however, in the pages of educational psychology journals. While the dominant image of the evacuation surveys remains the documentation of increased neuroticism, delinquency and separation anxiety which would have such an impact on post-war family psychology and the prevailing narratives of the war experience for evacuated children, there were limited studies, including work on the 'senior school' evacuees.[95] What problems, most notably delinquency and truancy, that did emerge for adolescent and pre-adolescent evacuees, however, were largely accounted for by the authors of these studies as the result of a lack of amenities in rural reception areas and the problems of wartime strains

[93] C. W. Valentine, 'Adolescence and some problems of youth training', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1943), pp. 57-68; and Cyril Burt, 'The education of the young adolescent: the psychological implications of the Norwood Report', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1943), pp. 126-140.

[94] W. L. Chinn, 'A brief survey of nearly one thousand juvenile delinquents', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1938) pp. 78-85; B. Chisnall, 'The interests and personality traits of delinquent boys [summary of research reported in degree theses]', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1941), p. 76; and Cyril Burt, 'Recent discussions of juvenile delinquency', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1949), pp. 32-43.

[95] Magdalen D. Vernon, 'A study of some effects of evacuation on adolescent girls', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1940), pp. 114-134; M. A. Davidson and I. M. Slade, 'Results of a survey of senior school evacuees', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1940), pp. 179-195.

on class sizes and teacher availability.[96] In short, it was the social dimension and landscape of adolescence which mattered, a point that I shall develop in the subsequent chapter. One psychologist, Agatha Bowley, went so far as to state that while the war's 'disruption of school life' exerted a 'disturbing' effect on 'older boys and girls', psychologists only had to appeal to adolescents' innate and developing sense of idealism to overcome this.[97] 'Adolescents', she argued, 'are full of ambitions and ideals, and easily elated or depressed. […] we had to try to teach them to enjoy the war as a glorious adventure, as a challenge and a spur to endeavour'.[98] Through these examples, a dual image emerges. The adolescent is positioned both as a child (in need of adventure) and an adult (aware of the situation around them and prone to be affected by it emotionally). Already, then, the adolescent was in the hybrid position between family and society that would dominate the post-war period.

(2.3) Conclusion

The influence of British psychology on the education system was thus responsible for rendering the adolescent more visible as a social category; one understood as having specific

[96] Cyril Burt, 'The incidence of neurotic symptoms among evacuated school children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1940), pp. 8-15; Aymeric Straker and Robert H. Thouless, 'Preliminary results of Cambridge Survey of evacuated children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1940), pp. 97-113; Vernon, 'A study of some effects of evacuation on adolescent girls'; Davidson and Slade, 'Results of a survey of senior school evacuees'; Cyril Burt, 'The billeting of evacuated children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1941), pp. 85-98; William Boyd, 'The effects of evacuation on the children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1941), pp. 120-126; and Agnes G. McClure, 'Effects of air raids on school children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1943), pp. 24-29.

[97] Agatha Bowley, *The Natural Development of the Child: a guide for parents, teachers, students and others*, 4th edition (Edinburgh and London: E & S Livingstone, 1957 [1942]), p. 189.

[98] Ibid., pp. 171-172.

needs in relation to type and form of education. More specifically, psychological opinion called for the separation of this age-group from their younger peers. Aggression and behavioural concerns were generally absent from these educational concerns in the 1920s but became more important in the following decade when some reorganisation had already been attempted. It was, however, the metaphorical value of adolescence which mattered most. Firstly, the adolescent symbolised the essence of a harmonious society through its channelling of the child into stable adulthood. It was also characterised as a time of stress, but not, at least in this pre-1944 period, of outward aggression. If anything, its most alarming trait was a retreat into the self and an internalised form of violence. Secondly, a 'liminal' image of the adolescent emerged as a consequence of this. Hendrick has suggested that these approaches – led by Hall and Slaughter – were 'embroidered' with 'romanticism and mysticism' and focused on an overwhelmingly negative impression of the adolescent's emotions, related to the pessimistic application of these ideas to working-class children.[99] While this assessment is true in part, it elides the primary fact that the early work on adolescence, for all of its rhetorical style and literary flourishes, claimed a discourse of scientific rationalism based around the 'conscious' subject as the epitome of the modern, masculine subject. Perhaps more accurate is Hendrick's somewhat contradictory and later assertion that the reformers who advocated these methods were guilty of stressing the adolescent's 'ambivalence' as both a living actor and a state of being.[100] The First World War accentuated this ambivalence, making concerns about aggression more central and providing a vocabulary and reserve of metaphors to express it in highly lyrical and poetic terms.

[99] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 102-109.

[100] Ibid., pp. 136-137.

Both of these developments contributed to the third trend: the rise of a model of adolescence centred on development through progressive stages, each defined by specific behaviours. That the 'development of development' as a key factor in psychological explanations of children's behaviour at particular stages should occur alongside the transition to a more age-stratified system of public education – symbolised by the move to a different scholastic setting at the age of eleven – is hardly insignificant. Laura Tisdall sees this age-stratification as something more related to readings of Jean Piaget's work in the mid-century period.[101] This chapter, however, has suggested one way in which this process was set in motion earlier, during the development of adolescent education for working-class children in the later 1920s and 1930s, and the resulting necessity to identify appropriate stages through which the child could pass. These changes culminated in the 1944 Education Act, with its provision to ensure education appropriate to 'age, ability and aptitude'. The next chapter explores how those new processes, at least in relation to the adolescent, served to place a greater emphasis on the social world and sociology of the adolescent, to the detriment of the psychological component of the inter-war interdisciplinary hybrid.

[101] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', p. 27; idem, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', p. 501.

CHAPTER 3:

ADOLESCENCE AND THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL IN THE POST-WAR SETTLEMENT: FROM THE 1944 EDUCATION ACT TO THE 'PERMISSIVE SOCIETY'

The historiography of post-war Britain has recently identified the emergence of new types of social-scientific expertise as a defining feature of the period after the Second Word War. Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, for instance, argues that academics and researchers in the social sciences helped to popularise new class-based labels and understandings of social structure.[1] John Stewart notes the increasing power of the social worker within the child guidance process, and the growth of social-work-based critiques of guidance practices as the 1950s wore on.[2] In his study of Leicester's 'municipal medicine', meanwhile, Welshman highlights the dominant 'trend' of the post-war period as a 'decline of public health and the relative rise of social work'.[3] Between these two, however, there remains a certain degree of continuity, not least in the role the urban landscape enjoyed as a cause and setting for concern. The period, I contend, marks a transition in types and forms of expertise; one in which psychology renounced some of its authoritative role in relation to the landscape. This chapter begins to develop this theme, providing a bridge between the previous chapter –

[1] Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 'Discourses of "class" in Britain', pp. 296, 307-309.

[2] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, p. 183.

[3] Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, p. 241. See also: idem, 'In search of the "problem family": public health and social work in England and Wales, 1940-1970', *Social History of Medicine*, 9:3 (1996), pp. 447-465; idem, *Underclass*, pp. 79-97.

which focused on a distinctly psychological conception of the adolescent – and the subsequent one, which will examine the ethnographic, social observation techniques employed by teachers to make sense of adolescents' *social* lives outside of any kind of psychological framework. Further, I suggest that greater attention than has hitherto been paid by historians needs to address the issues of convergence and divergence between psychology and sociology at the mid-century moment. As noted in the introduction and the previous chapter, the early part of the century is marked by an interdisciplinary commingling in the study of childhood and adolescence in which the balance of power lay in psychology. This chapter, by contrast, is about psychology's limitations in the period following the Second World War. In the inter-war period, as Hayward asserts in his brief introduction to the psycho-social, psychology provided a vocabulary that could encompass the social.[4] But I argue, against Hayward, that psychology's dominance within the 'psycho-social' framework – at least as far as the adolescent was concerned – was challenged in the post-war era. Mid-century approaches were 'psycho-social' – an uneasy alliance which could only function where both practitioners followed similar lines of analysis.

In the latter half of the chapter, I explore these issues through the prism of how several prominent psychologists of the immediate post-war period integrated – or, more accurately, failed to integrate – the analysis of society and social change into their works. Hayward hints at this in his effort to highlight the diversity of approaches that can be classified under the 'psycho-social' label, but relates this more towards psychology's relationship with biology, than its relationship with social science.[5] My chapter begins, however, with consideration of developments in the local state, and particularly its delivery

[4] Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial', p. 4.

[5] Ibid., pp. 7-9.

of child guidance and psychological services. This serves two purposes. Firstly, it provides an opportunity to nuance some of the extant historiography on this topic. I engage particularly with Stewart's chronology of the child guidance clinic's fortunes, suggesting that if psychology grew more prominent in the post-war period this was not necessarily geographically coherent (some areas were recalcitrant to this trend, while others anticipated it in the inter-war years) and that similarly local variation characterised psychologists' abilities to harness the social as an area of authority attached to their province.[6] Secondly, and against the biographies of the welfare state, it evidences an argument that the fortunes of the post-war settlement played out as much on the local level, where municipally-appointed experts ran services according to their own ideals and structures, as they did in national government. To understand the limitations of psychology in this period, its varying valence on the local level needs to be more accurately understood.

(3.1) Post-war shifts in local authority provision: psychology in the local landscape

Across the late-1940s and 1950s, local authority educational provision underwent several changes. The basic architecture of the school medical services was, in many respects, strengthened by the war, and its provision of child guidance and psychological assessment services for children who posed behaviour problems especially so.[7] But these gains were undercut and diminished by the creation of the NHS in 1948. In the context of child guidance, particularly, psychiatric services were split from local control, and LEAs barely held on to

[6] Stewart, *Child Guidance*.

[7] Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, pp. 151, Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 127-130, 132-140.

psychological testing.[8] In Stewart's analysis, this only encouraged a shift towards psychology, and the localised medical services did participate in fashioning a post-war consensus around the child and school behaviour.[9] (As I argue below, there was considerable variation.) Another shift at this time concerns the place of the adolescent within these structures, though their position was by no means central and prone to geographical variation. An appreciation of the fairly limited response to adolescence helps to set the scene for what, in the second half of this chapter, I consider to be the limitations of post-war psychological theory and practice in integrating wider concerns over the adolescent and the social at this time. The newfound dominance of the discipline of educational psychology in the child guidance clinic indicates that it was psychology – rather than psychiatry – that was most unable to cross into sociology and develop pedagogies of discipline for the teacher and the landscape.[10]

Such activities and efforts were by no means geographically homogeneous, as my examples indicate, but across the services in Birmingham, Brighton and Leicester it is possible to discern three key changes. Firstly, more LEAs made attempts to integrate teachers and schools into the psychological systems, with the result that child psychology came into greater contact with these professions. This was perhaps in response to the NHS' splitting of the School Medical Services, and a desire to foreground the educational nature of the service to justify its continuance under LEA control. Secondly, and serving as a restraining force on this initial trend, there was a substantial increase in caseload, including more from secondary schools. Lastly, the psychologists themselves increasingly placed an emphasis on issues of

[8] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-143; Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, p. 30; Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, pp. 176-178.

[9] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-140.

[10] See: Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial'; Hayward, 'Sadness in Camberwell'.

behaviour in their annual reports to their council committees, particularly during the height of the 'blackboard jungle' anxieties.

Leicester is one authority where, at least for the post-war period, the efforts to engage teachers and other groups with the psychological service has left some productive archival traces. In June 1945, the Director of Education organised a 'Brains Trust' on the role of psychologists, on which Agatha Bowley (1909-1995), then director of the service, was listed as one of the panellists.[11] Throughout the 1950s, the school psychological service held annual 'open weeks' for teachers which included lectures on the 'principles of remedial education', as well as demonstrations of 'performance testing' and more 'Brains Trust' type sessions.[12] The minute books, and the periodic and annual reports contained therein, also reveal shifts in what the service was doing after 1945, and the ages of the children who were its main recipients. The number of children seen by the psychologist increased steadily, with several fluctuations, between 1945 (631) and its peak in 1957 (842). At first '[b]ehaviour problems and anxiety symptoms' were seen as 'the most obvious effects' of the recently concluded hostilities,[13] in addition to a progressive increase in the numbers of 'maladjusted' children and what the 1953 report termed 'the class of "deprived" or delinquent children'.[14] More

[11] LLRRO, 30D73/564, Circulars from Education Department, letter, H. S. Magnay (Director of Education) to all Primary and Secondary Schools, 20 June 1945.

[12] LLRRO, 30D73/570, Circular, Thomas to teachers, 18 June 1954. For lectures organised by the service, see also: 19D59/VII/582, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended December 31st 1953', p. 1.

[13] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/581, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Annual report of the School Psychological Service for the year ending December 31st 1945', p. 2; and 19D59/VII/582, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended December 31st 1953', p. 1.

[14] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/582, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended December 31st 1953, p. 2.

broadly, however, the sources of referral for these groups was diversifying. While, in 1945, what the report termed the 'majority' of referrals were described as 'quite young children – mainly in Infant Departments – and … referred by the Schools in the City', increasing numbers were referred from parents directly, family GPs and the courts and probation services.[15]

As Table 1 demonstrates, with data taken from one of the service's decennial reflective pieces, the 'school' aspect of the service declined somewhat over the early- to mid-1950s, in favour of more referrals from the justice system. This would suggest that schools and teachers turned away from referring cases, or perhaps only did so in what they regarded as extreme cases. In light of this, the Leicester service was especially keen, perhaps more than any of the three authorities, to foreground the importance of a link directly to the schools and to fight to retain this. The psychologists frequently noted that the majority of interviews with children took place in the schools themselves, rather than a central clinic, actively seeking to de-medicalise the impression of its activities.[16] The prospect of a disconnection between the service and the schools was of clearly not insignificant concern to them. In part, this may have been a result of an anxiety that losing this connection would drive a wedge between the service and the teaching profession. Thus, the 1955 report labelled the 'decline in the number of cases coming from the schools' (that is, 29 per cent, compared to 50 per cent in 1949) a 'disturbing feature'. '[T]he implied loss of contact with the schools', commented the

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[15] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/581, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Annual report of the School Psychological Service for the year ending December 31st 1945', p. 1; and 19D59/VII/582, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended December 31st 1953', p. 1.

[16] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/582, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended December 31st 1953, p. 1.

chief psychologist, Olive Sampson, 'cannot be accepted with complacency and special attention is being directed to means of righting the situation'.[17] 'Contact' was equally of importance for historical reasons, and was part of the service's identity. Reflecting on the history of the service in 1962, the chief psychologist wrote that the psychological department had 'built up its reputation' through school-based cases.[18] Table 1 shows that the number of referrals from schools correspondingly increased when those from magistrates and the police tailed off in the early 1960s.[19]

Table 1 - Sources of referral for the Leicester SPS, 1949-1958. Source: LLRRO, 19D59/VII/627/1, *At Belvoir House: an analysis of the work of the Leicester Schools Psychological Service, 1949 to 1958,* produced by City of Leicester Education Committee, November 1959, p. 7.

	Schools	Parents	School MO	Juvenile Court	Children's Officer	Schools Branch	SPS Retests	CG	Misc
1949	50	9	7	6	4	4	9	-	11
1950	41	12	8	5	11	8	5	-	10
1951	35	8	3	10	17	10	10	4	3
1952	32	5	4	15	12	8	12	11	1
1953	32	5	3	19	10	8	10	10	3
1954	27	6	1	23	10	10	8	8	7
1955	26	4	1	24	7	12	6	15	5
1956	35	6	1	27	5	10	5	9	2
1957	28	6	4	26	7	11	4	12	2
1958	34	4	3	30	5	7	4	7	6

Leicester's service sits unusually within Stewart's model of a shift to psychology, having always positioned the psychologist as an agent acting between the medical and pedagogical spheres. In Birmingham, however, the balance of power in the service had begun

[17] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/583, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the School Psychological Service for the year ended 31st December 1955', p. 1.

[18] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/703, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report on the staffing of the School Psychological Service', 5 November 1962, p. 1.

[19] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/703, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Annual Report of the City of Leicester School Psychological Service, 1963', p. 2.

with the psychiatrist but progressively shifted towards the psychologist after 1945, part of a 'demedicalisation' of the service as psychiatric therapy transferred to the NHS.[20] As in Leicester, the number of cases treated increased from the end of the war to the late-1950s and, although the city did not tabulate the causes of referral to the same extent as Leicester, behaviour certainly emerged as a particular concern. The behaviour-problem category of children even drew special comment from the psychiatrist, Charles Burns, in his 1947 report, where it was noted that they had increased from 30 per cent of cases in 1939 to 43 per cent in 1947 – a figure which remained high throughout the 1950s.[21] The fact that behaviour constituted 40 per cent of referrals (all ages included) in 1955, for example, would appear to indicate that it was closely tracking both the public and teachers' levels of anxiety about violence in schools and that concerns formulated around the adolescent in the media were influencing teachers' perceptions of disciplinary issues at the time of the 'blackboard jungle'.[22]

From the late 1940s, the annual reports of Charles Burns were expressing concern about the mounting caseload of the clinic.[23] The LEA's Hygiene sub-committee was also

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[20] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-143.

[21] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/48, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1947', p. 25, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1947-1948; BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/56, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1955', pp. 62-63, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1955-1956.

[22] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/56, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1955', pp. 62-63, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1955-1956; BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/58, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1957', p. 153, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1957-1958.

[23] TNA, ED 137/171, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R Mitchell, M.C, M.B, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December, 1948', p. 3.

becoming increasingly conscious of the problem of waiting lists, which began to grow during the war and had not declined after its end.[24] Whereas Leicester's concern was over caseload diversification, Birmingham's was still very much school-based. It was in this context that Burns made his first plea for a reform of the service and a voluntary diminution in the role of the clinic: 'As more cases come in from the Schools we realise the necessity of a psychological Schools Service, of which the centre but not the whole would be the Clinic itself […] This would have the advantage that more direct touch would be kept with the teachers, and also that many cases would be dealt with without having to reach the Clinic'.[25] The last part of this rationale suggests that, like Leicester, Birmingham practitioners were increasingly mobilising a discourse of proximity to teachers as a way of justifying the apparently dual role of the psychologist between medicine and education to counter the territorial encroachment of the NHS. Two memoranda on the future development of the service were prepared by P. D. Innes (the Chief Education Officer) and by Burns in 1945, both concurring about the future direction and citing Leicester's model approvingly.[26] As the new arrangement developed, both Burns and William Bannon, the newly-appointed psychologist, submitted separate reports on the dual work of the service throughout the

[24] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/10/1/1/37, Hygiene Sub-Committee, 15 January 1948, item 11654.

[25] TNA, ED 137/171, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R. Mitchell, M.C, M.B, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December, 1948', p. 24.

[26] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/10/1/1/34, Hygiene Sub-Committee, minutes, 14 June 1945, attached typescript, P. D. Innes, 'Child Guidance and Psychological Service: memorandum by the Chief Education Officer', 6 June 1945; and BCC/1/BH/10/1/1/34, Hygiene Sub-Committee, minutes, 14 June 1945, attached typescript, Charles Burns, 'The possible future development of Child Guidance', 30 May 1945.

1950s, illustrative of how far, in Birmingham, therapeutic child guidance and educational psychology had become two rigidly separate divisions.[27]

The only sense of tension between the two professionals can be found in the 1956 report, where Burns expressed doubt that the psychologist could ever truly 'test the child in an "objective situation"', often applying 'a method which may be … remote from the child's problem'.[28] He was more complimentary in the 1958 report, if equally hinting cryptically at other aspects of the service, noting that 'thanks to the expansion of the Psychologist's side of the work […] there has been [a] more personal relationship with Head Teachers and Teachers, with direct discussion of difficult cases of all types. The knowledge thus gained as to the psychological atmosphere of different schools is also useful!'[29] This would appear to suggest that individual headteachers enjoyed productive relations with the service. But it also shows that psychological specialists may not always have approved of school organisation. Indeed, the Ministry of Education officials, when giving approval to Birmingham's reorganisation plan, had some reservations about how teachers in the city might respond to the psychologist. One civil servant noted that the authority should be 'obliged to make it clear that the psychologists ought not to be in the position to direct or strongly persuade the teachers to follow e.g. certain particular principles of organisation'.[30] The Ministry was

[27] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/52, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R. Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1951', p. 25, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1951-1952.

[28] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/57, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R. Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1956', p. 60, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1956-1957.

[29] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/59, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R. Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1958', p. 52, in Education Committee Minute Book of 1958-1959.

[30] TNA, ED 137/172, Letter, [unnamed civil servant] to Russell, 30 March 1950.

consequently rather cautious in its promotion of this model and was keen to at least be seen to defend teachers' professional integrity from the perceived incursion of psychologists.

Examples of the uneasy relations between teachers and psychological professions were also in evidence in Brighton. Although Hastings, Eastbourne and Hove formed a special joint committee with the county authorities from 1944 in order to establish a common child guidance and psychology service, Brighton chose to remain separate and pursue its own system.[31] Unlike Leicester and Birmingham, tensions in Brighton are visible even in the usually cordial and staid committee minutes. They erupted forcefully in December 1963, when the town council voted to close down the child guidance clinic in response to a dispute with the regional hospital board over the allocation of the psychiatrist's time to local authority work.[32] Although they re-established the clinic just a year later, Dorothy Hammond, the educational psychologist, remained in post and continued to carry out testing throughout the upheavals.[33] In Brighton, the psychologist stood out as a separate figure, more trusted by teachers, although perhaps not blameless. A Ministry inspector who visited the town during the height of the problems even accused Hammond of abusing her own role with the schools:

> When the clinic became the responsibility of the PSMO [Principal School Medical Officer] and came under the medical direction of the psychiatrist […] the educational psychologist withdrew her services, ceased to be co-operative and refused to refer children to the clinic. Possibly due to her influence, head teachers now rarely send children to the clinic.[34]

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[31] See: TNA, ED 137/136, N E Chadwick (SMO), 'Annual Report of the School Medical Officer for the year 1944' [Hove], 1 March 1945, p. 5.

[32] ESRO, R/E 2/24/3, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 17 December 1963.

[33] ESRO, R/E 2/24/3, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 17 June 1964.

[34] ED 137/715, Minute, Scrimshaw to Browne, 7 January 1964.

There is consequently a suggestion that the psychologist enjoyed good links to the schools, even to the point of being able to turn headteachers away from the service in retaliation to a perceived professional slight.

The mixed picture that emerges from this evidence hints at the status of child psychology as part of the post-war settlement in 'municipal medicine' (to use Welshman's term). Yet this did not necessarily equate to support or acceptance from the teaching profession, however much the policy appears to have been to solicit this. Even Leicester's calm pride in its service may have belied a system of 'vested interests' and resistance to reform by the 1950s.[35]

In this context, adolescence was largely absent as a specific concern of the local services, with only Leicester showing direct interest. A section in the 1957 report on the 'Child of secondary age referred from schools' was one of the first to attempt to quantify the problems of the adolescent age group, of whom '[a]bout half … were referred for "backwardness"' and a 'further group' for 'difficult behaviour', the latter exemplified (though not defined) in the piece by 'pilfering, bullying, worrying, truancy'.[36] While noting that the majority of such referrals tended to be boys, the report equally declared that sixty-six per cent of court referrals from this category were of secondary-school age.[37] This suggests that the adolescent was being referred less by schools than other welfare agencies and that the secondary adolescent was recognised as a specific subject of concern. But primary-school

[35] Welshman, *Municipal Medicine*, pp. 206-207.

[36] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/583, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended 31st December, 1957', p. 1.

[37] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/583, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Report of the Leicester School Psychological Service for the year ended 31st December, 1957', p. 1.

teachers, it appeared, were more likely to think psychologically in terms of referral than their secondary colleagues. Increases in this adolescent boy group were likewise noted in 1961.[38] Table 2 gives some figures for the 1950s, where tabulations on school types were available, and these indicate secondary schools, and secondary moderns in particular, sending greater numbers of pupils. In 1964, meanwhile, the psychological service decided to 'extend their skills into work with adolescent children', and particularly through the psychiatric social workers.[39] It was a more socially-oriented psycho-social domain which was at the forefront of efforts to integrate adolescents into existing local health structures, particularly a mobile profession like the social workers who could visit and observe the adolescent in their social activities.

[38] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/702, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Annual Report of the City of Leicester School Psychological Service, 1961': p. 2.

[39] LLRRO, 19D59/VII/704, Special Services sub-committee minutes, attached typescript, 'Annual Report of the City of Leicester School Psychological Service, 1965', p. 2.

	Infants	Juniors	Secondary Modern Boys	Secondary Modern Girls	Grammar School Boys	Grammar School Girls
1945	35	55	20	22	3	2
1946	36	35	25	15	11	4
1947-1952						
1953	121	185	93	80	12	5
1954	121	186	118	67	26	6
1955	116	138	120	73	24	7
1956	114	226	123	100	9	7
1957	124	215	161	99	12	6
1958						
1959	97	186	134	87	11	-
1960						
1961	88	153	115	62	11	10
1962	71	123	86	58	6	7

Table 2 - Distribution of referrals to the Leicester School Psychological Service by school category. Source: tabulations in annual reports of the Leicester School Psychological Service 1945-1946, 1953-57, 1959 and 1961-1962, Special Services Sub-Committee minute books, LLRRO, 19D59/VII/581-583, 19D59/702-703. Note that others years are missing. Note also that the years 1945-1946 only include referrals under the 'behaviour' category, while other years refer to age-range more broadly.

What emerges most forcefully in this brief consideration of post-war LEA provision is not only the shift towards the psychologist identified by Stewart – albeit one happening at different rates – but equally something with which he does not engage so explicitly: the shifting nomenclature away from the child guidance model towards a 'school psychological service'. The new name both foregrounded the educational qualities and the psychological aspects, to the detriment of the teamwork approach of the inter-war period which looked towards the family. Such a shift occurred alongside substantial increases in the number of cases being seen, and the growing place of behaviour within these. Evidence about the numbers of secondary-school-age and adolescent children being seen remains inconclusive

across the three case-studies, where only Leicester maintained and disseminated its research data. However, what does appear clearly is the unique role that the LEAs constructed for the psychologist as an agent capable of moving between the setting of the clinic and the school. Leicester was the most vocal of the three authorities in foregrounding this aspect of the psychologist's role, though the other areas examined here also accepted it to varying degrees. Nevertheless, there are hints at the tensions in this approach between teachers, headteachers and the clinic, which I suggest as a point of departure for reading how the adolescent was positioned within schools and the psychological models during this period (with Leicester's effort to reach out through the PSWs significant in this regard). This chapter now shifts to consider the broader national contours of the post-war settlement as it affected adolescence, and to reflect on some of its limitations.

(3.2) The adolescent and the limitations of the post-war psychological settlement: advice literature

This section explores some of the ideas circulating around the adolescent in the mid-century in order to better understand how they impinged on post-war developments in the educational field. The advice literature emerging from this time, which targeted parents and teachers, emphasised the perils and pitfalls of adolescence; ones which appeared to equivocate on the seeming 'normality' and 'abnormality' of this stage of growth and development. I suggest that issues pertaining to outward manifestations of violence and aggression became more central to this focus on adolescence as the century progressed (as opposed to the earlier period) because they served as an exemplary symptom of social pathology for those writing and reading about it. I identify three key themes in these limitations. Firstly, the focus on aggression and the infant inherited from the inter-war period and the post-war vulgarisations

of Freud and Klein made finding a space for the adolescent difficult within the era's main intellectual framework. These dominant discourses made the figure of the child central, almost emblematic, of the post-war settlement, in a way which served to exclude older children; or, as King and Tisdall have both noted, rendered their presence both more marginal and threatening.[40] Secondly, the emphasis placed on stages of growth in texts written by psychologists and privileging younger children often marginalised adolescents. Even where adolescence was discussed, the authors tended to place the life-stage in a narrative which invoked their moving towards the urban space and away from the family, and then failed to provide an adequate language to conceptualise this social movement within psychological terms. Lastly, and related to the previous point, there was a certain torpor by psychologists in responding to the social changes that occurred between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s – and are collectively, if loosely, contained under the label of the 'permissive society'.[41] This weakness made psychology appear less relevant to British audiences, and teachers especially, as a means of accounting for changes in behaviour. The adolescent, in many ways positioned at the vanguard of these changes, was thus outside of psychology's concerns.

The infant focus, as we saw in the previous chapter, was inherited from the concerns of inter-war psychology. If a large body of general historiographical literature on the inter-war period relies on the idea of a moment of 'aftermath', there is a corresponding focus in post-Second-World War literature on the history of the infant. As Richards, Shapira and Anne Karpf argue, the period from the late-1930s to the 1950s was characterised as one of

[40] King, 'Future citizens', pp. 395; Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', pp. 490-491. Thomson also comments on the role of the child as the emblematic 'image of social history': Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, pp. 26-28.

[41] See the interventions and contributions in: Marcus Collins (ed), *The Permissive Society and Its Enemies: sixties British culture* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2007). See also: Pat Thane and Tanya Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?: unmarried motherhood in twentieth-century England* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), pp. 120-139.

growing 'Freudish' approaches towards childhood.[42] Yet these were all centred on the mother-infant relationship, influenced by the work of Freud as popularised by John Bowlby and Donald Winnicott in ideas of 'maternal attachment'.[43] This also ensured that aggression was defined in very broad, often abstract, terms, and read into everyday iterations of childish behaviour. If adolescents internalised aggression, as we saw in the previous chapter, the infant was the main target of concern over cases of expressed aggression. Edward Glover, writing in the late-1930s, noted bluntly that the baby was a 'parasite whose first maladroit performance is an unwitting attempt to rend its mother's body in labour' and whose aggression continued in its attacking of the breast for milk.[44] The absence of the adolescent from this argument is reflective of the broader concerns of the varied strands of inter-war psychology with the development of aggression in younger, 'pre-latent' infants. In such a model, further manifestations of violence, or a propensity to use force in later stages of development, were merely recapitulations of unresolved tensions and phantasies from earlier infancy.[45]

Freudian, 'Freudish' and Kleinian readings of child behaviour thus inverted the chronological order of development, seeing adolescent behaviour merely as a continuation and repetition of the drives occurring earlier in the life-cycle. The younger child consequently

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[42] Richards, 'Britain on the couch'; Shapira, *The War Inside*; Karpf, 'Constructing and addressing the "ordinary devoted mother"'.

[43] John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (Geneva: World Health Organisation, 1952); Donald W. Winnicott, *The Child, the Family and the Outside World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).

[44] Edward Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism. Further essays on group psychology and war* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1947 [1933]), p. 66.

[45] Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, *Infants Without Families: reports on the Hampstead War Nurseries, 1939-1945* (New York: International Universities Press, 1973 [1946]); and Melanie Klein, *Narrative of a Child Analysis: the conduct of the psycho-analysis of children as seen in the treatment of a ten-year-old boy* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1961).

served as a more convenient cipher for considering aggression and displaced hatred in such work. The 'adolescent', meanwhile, only appeared in Glover's proposal for a comparative study of aggression as a mid-point between internal violence (childhood aggression) and violence directed towards society itself (adult aggression).[46] As this case indicates, the chronological succession of stages did provide a useful structuring device for textbooks and advice literature. Works on child psychology at this time, from a variety of perspectives, often worked chronologically through the accepted stages of development, but usually reserved more textual space and attention for the child than the adolescent. As these books were revised into new editions by their authors throughout the post-war period, chapters on the teenage years were both added or significantly expanded. This would seem to indicate a growing interest in the adolescent, and a desire to offer more information on it to their readership, but nonetheless constituted a marginalisation of the life-stage, as the authors were often more specialised in childhood psychology.

One of these authors was Agatha Bowley, a former director of the school psychological service in Leicester. Bowley graduated with a degree in psychology from Bedford College, London, in 1930 and was awarded a PhD at some point in the next few years.[47] She held several appointments with school psychological services around the country, including Dundee and Leicester (1943-1949), before transferring to research and teaching posts at the Institute of Education and the Child Study Centre in Bloomsbury.[48] Elected a Fellow of the BPS in 1948, and a member of the managing committee of the

[46] Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism*, pp. 79-81.

[47] 'University News: "Greats" Class List at Oxford, London Degree Lists', *The Times*, 26 July 1930, p. 14. I have been unable to trace her doctoral studies.

[48] See: Wellcome Library and Archives, SA/MIN/A/2/2, National Association for Mental Health (NAMH) papers, Council Minutes, 6 October 1961.

National Association for Mental Health in the later 1950s, she later moved to Sussex, dividing her time between the Cheyne Centre for Spastic Children in Chelsea – a subject that would exercise her attention throughout the later part of her career – and the child guidance clinics in Horsham and Crawley.[49] The scope of her research, publications and activities emphasises, if in extremity, the way that literal movements between geographical and institutional places could reflect and parallel movements of professional focus. With the majority of her written production of advice literature for parents and teachers centred on the years between 1940 and 1957, Bowley is thus ideally positioned to trace changes in approaches towards age.

This is equally true for Charles Wilfrid Valentine (1879-1964). The son of an itinerant Methodist preacher, Valentine, a collaborator of Burt, focused his earliest research on the development and awakening of diverse facets of human personality and enculturation.[50] After postgraduate study at Cambridge and St Andrew's, he would eventually take up a professorial chair in Birmingham, based in the Department of Education (and hence teacher training) rather than in psychology. Beginning with work on aesthetics, and the emergence of speech in young infants, Valentine privileged observation within his research – founding his later parenting manuals on the objective recording of his own children's development. This process filled several notebooks, meticulously classifying newly emergent behaviour into the

[49] Bowley, *Natural Development*; idem, *The Problems of Family Life*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1948 [1946]); idem, *Everyday Problems of the School Child* (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1948); idem, *Modern Child Psychology* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1948); idem, *The Young Handicapped Child: educational guidance for the young blind, cerebral palsied and deaf child* (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1957); idem, *The Psychological Care of the Child in Hospital* (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1961).

[50] Cyril Burt, 'Obituary: Charles Wilfrid Valentine', *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 34:3 (1964), pp. 218-222.

specific categories of development which they seemed to herald.[51] Valentine favoured the experiential, observational approach, making much of the fact that he had practical encounters as a father which were denied to other writers.[52] (His attention here may well have been directed specifically at unmarried and childless female psychologists, most notably the Freudian Susan Isaacs, or perhaps even Bowley herself.)

Both individuals thus represent different strands in inter- and post-war British psychology, but are united by being involved directly with the administration of the local psychological 'state' in one form or another (in the form of diagnosis or training), and by their common interest in disseminating research on instincts and drives to parents and teachers. Although Bowley's approach comes across as more pro-Freudian, aligning her more towards Read, her reading of Freud is complex. This derives, in part, from her alignment with the main British proponents of Freud, most notably Isaacs.[53] One of her earliest works, *The Natural Development of the Child* (whose very title emphasises the trend towards the chronological separation of life stages that I have indicated), invoked the 'great deal' which she owed 'indirectly' to Isaacs.[54] Her *Everyday Problems of the School Child* (1948) was more explicit in referencing Isaacs' reading of 'this book in manuscript form' and acknowledging how 'much of her teaching is embodied in the text'.[55] For Bowley, in child

[51] Wellcome Library and Archives, PSY/VAL/2/1-8, Valentine papers, notebooks.

[52] See the inside cover summary to Charles Wilfrid Valentine, *The Normal Child: and some of his abnormalities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), unpaginated, and p. 10; idem, *Parents and Children: a first book on the psychology of child development and training* (London: Methuen & Co, 1953), p. v; and idem, *Psychology of Early Childhood: a study of mental development in the first years of life* (London: Methuen & Co, 1942), pp. vii-x.

[53] See: Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*, pp. 111-136.

[54] Bowley, *Natural Development*, p. vi.

[55] Bowley, *Everyday Problems*, p. v.

development '[o]ne step follows another; a child's nature gradually unfolds on the basis of the preceding stage'.[56] Moreover, both Bowley and Valentine were highly critical of the behaviourism propagated by American psychologists such as B. F. Skinner, which Bowley found 'too narrow' in its understanding of human motivations.[57]

Bowley's post-war *Everyday Problems of the School Child* (1948) adopted a chronological approach to its structure, centring each chapter on a different stage of schooling from the nursery, to the infant school, to the junior and senior schools.[58] Yet the actual stages of growth deemed worthy of conclusion, and the focus of her attention, shifted over time. *The Natural Development of the Child*, when originally published in 1942, was unsurprisingly focused on a discussion of children under the age of ten – then still the majority of the school population. Its second edition (1943) featured a new chapter which aimed to bring together the latest research on the impact of the ongoing conflict on children.[59] By the third edition in 1968, the age-range itself was expanded, and she claimed to have 'enlarged the section on adolescence', through the inclusion of a new chapter entitled, revealingly, 'Adolescence – Development and Difficulties'.[60]

The increase in writings about the relationship between adolescence, childhood and disciplinary structure was undoubtedly driven by the increased visibility of the adolescent in the schools of post-war Britain, indicative of what Thomson calls the 'demand from below'

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[56] Bowley, *Natural Development*, p. 159.

[57] Bowley, *Modern Child Psychology*, p. 8.

[58] Bowley, *Everyday Problems*.

[59] Agatha Bowley, *The Natural Development of the Child: a guide for parents, teachers, students and others*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1943), pp. 165-195.

[60] Agatha Bowley, *The Natural Development of the Child: a guide for parents, teachers, students and others*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1948), pp. 152-168.

for psychological material.[61] But they were equally a response to changing cultures of childrearing and attitudes to discipline. As Tisdall has noted, the post-war period witnessed a challenge to the libertarian attitudes to childrearing espoused in the inter-war period.[62] Broadly, these earlier approaches were part of an initial reaction from the pacifist left to the First World War and to the apparent pathologies of the social order. The later attitudes were, by contrast, a response to the Second World War: to a concern for the maintenance of civil society against excessive individual freedom, and to ensure social cohesion. By far the key legacy of the war for the adolescent was the adoption of an educational system fully in accord with the principles espoused by Hadow and Spens. In other words, the pedagogy of discipline proposed was predicated on adolescents being offered freedom within limits, and on their awakening sense of the need for self-discipline to replace external coercion. They needed, simultaneously, to be given guidance and direction but equally allowed to think for themselves. One consequence of this is that a shift had taken place in the views of teachers, with far less acceptance of the pupil's 'submissive' role than in the past, or so claimed one psychologist.[63]

This pedagogy of discipline was inflected by understandings of the needs in development. For the adolescent psychologist, C. M. Fleming, the maturation through stages was conceived through the prism of stability: as a time of awakening instincts and emotions, the adolescent was in danger of becoming unstable and needed to be directed towards the 'physical stability of adult life'.[64] Liminal adolescents sat between childhood and adulthood

[61] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, p. 115.

[62] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', pp. 495-496.

[63] C. M. Fleming, *Adolescence. Its Social Psychology: with an introduction to recent findings from the fields of anthropology, physiology, medicine, psychometrics and sociometry* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1963 [1948]), p. 167.

[64] Ibid., p. 2.

but, in the words of the foreword to the 1963 edition of his 1948 book, 'more like adults than adults have often been tempted to suppose'.[65] The problem of adjustment, he argued, which could culminate in poor behaviour, stemmed from its status as a relatively recent stage historically.[66] His contemporary, James Hadfield (1882-1967), a former protégé of William McDougall and a founding member of the NAMH, drew on his background in anthropology and theology, with a keen interest in the development of particular behaviours in specific contexts.[67] Like Valentine, he had kept diaries of his own children's development and remained sceptical of the 'fallacy … of assuming a special theory, Freudian or otherwise, and interpreting the child's behaviour in terms of child theory'.[68] Yet, like Bowley, he was also concerned with the divide between discipline and freedom; ultimately viewing the former as essential for the latter, 'discipline is necessary to true freedom'.[69] This was particularly so if 'impulses are given unbridled freedom', for they might 'clash with one another and with the aims of the personality as a whole […] That indeed is the state of mind of the two-year-old […] the slave of his impulses, the victim of his passions'.[70] In Hadfield's work much of the chapter on adolescence also focused on emotions and the awakening of sexual drives.[71] The defining trope, then, was of a time of change; and one which led to more qualitative, less

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[65] Ibid., p. vii.

[66] Ibid., p. 22.

[67] Wellcome Library and Archives, SA/MIN/A/2/1, NAMH papers, Council Minutes, 11 February 1947.

[68] Hadfield, *Childhood and Adolescence*, pp. 12-13n.

[69] Ibid., p. 111.

[70] Ibid., p. 112.

[71] Ibid., pp. 180-243.

easily measurable changes in the focus and force of aggressive manifestations. This had implications for how authoritative adults should respond to such behaviours.

As Bowley argued, not only does the manifestation of aggression become more pronounced with the maturing of physical strength, but their perpetrators, through greater introspection, come to develop awareness of the focus of their anger as either a person, idea or object. A contrast was therefore established between the unarticulated and largely unconscious aggression of the infant and the targeted, almost reasoned, violence of the adolescent. Such adolescent delinquency 'may assume a more serious character', typified by being 'rebellious', 'impulsive' and often – especially in the case of sexuality – encouraged by 'uncertainty and curiosity'.[72] 'Delinquency' – labelled already in *Modern Child Psychology* as 'a problem which causes a good deal of concern nowadays to parents, teachers, magistrates and welfare workers'[73] – was deemed to be 'very common during this period', frequently as 'a kind of "declaration of independence"' against parental norms and values, and 'Sex Delinquency' was simply one product of this.[74] Yet this was still related to a concern with infancy and the repetition of problems at different stages. Thus, '[t]he child, who was a rebel in the nursery and who learned to gain his own ends by a show of temper, may turn naturally to aggressive and defiant methods when he is disturbed by the demands of authority in the secondary school'.[75]

It was here, then, that the authors could carve out a direct role for schools, and the secondary school especially. Schools were seen by both Bowley and Valentine as essential

[72] Bowley, *Modern Child Psychology*, p. 95.

[73] Ibid., p. 92.

[74] Bowley, *Natural Development* (2nd edition), p. 161.

[75] Bowley, *Everyday Problems*, p. 98.

sites for controlling how adolescents expended their energy. Directly referencing the 'passage of the Education Act 1944', for example, Bowley hoped that expanded schooling and the provision of more after-school clubs would provide appropriate 'sublimatory outlets' for the growing adolescent.[76] Children of all ages and developmental stages were likewise felt to require 'channels' for their 'devilment'.[77] For Valentine, meanwhile, discipline in home or school was centred on the contention that delinquency could be reduced by providing sufficient outlets for aggressive instincts.[78] In the 1960 second edition of his *Psychology and Its Bearing on Education*, the chapter on violence (perhaps in response to the 'jungle' rhetoric of the mid-1950s) was expanded.[79] These post-war psychologists were thus contributing to a pedagogy of discipline that was 'child-centred' in Tisdall's sense of the term as a set of practices which prioritise the child's limitations.[80]

If the infant remained the most visible, perhaps even majoritarian, force in this post-war settlement in relation to education and the family and received a greater amount of attention from psychologists, the adolescent, too, was worthy of some, and increasing, interest. This point is important, for it indicates a progressive evolution in the theoretical models used to understand childhood and ageing in more popular psychological texts. Yet the adolescent was not central in these texts, instead occupying a peripheral space at the end of a story of growth. Such sources also corroborate Tisdall's view that, by the post-war period, the

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[76] Bowley, *Natural Development* (2nd edition), p. 154.

[77] Bowley, *Natural Development* (2nd edition), pp. 159-160, 164; Bowley, *Modern Child Psychology*, pp. 93-94; and Bowley, *Everyday Problems*, p. 90.

[78] Burt, *The Young Delinquent*; and idem, 'Recent discussions of juvenile delinquency', pp. 32-43.

[79] Valentine, *Psychology and Its Bearing on Education*, 2nd edition (London: Methuen & Co, 1950), p. 83.

[80] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', pp. 24-28.

growth of psychology placed children increasingly into age-appropriate expectations which limited understanding of their capabilities.[81] This was as influential in consideration of behaviour as it was for intellectual development. Often, this approach was reinforced in the structure adopted by writers, in which children's development was considered in separate, successive, and above all chronological, stages and adolescence became the natural end-point for these popular books, as the culmination of the previous stages.

(3.3) Defining adolescence at the mid-century: the adolescent and social neuroses

Ideas about how instincts worked in the adolescent age-group thus shared common characteristics across the period. But attempting to define the stage posed problems for academic psychologists and researchers in contiguous disciplines, and this was in no small part due to the place of the 'social'. Exploring the ways in which adolescence was defined in relation to society and social change, and the limitations of this, reveals much about how it was constructed as a category. As noted above, both Valentine and Bowley, in addition to others, began to include more information on adolescents in their post-war advice books, and often emphasised affective changes. A new chapter on adolescence in Valentine's work therefore dealt with the perceived intensity of its 'emotional moods and attitudes'.[82] Along with Bowley, Valentine appears to have concurred about the importance of a 'blend of personal interest and altruism' in adolescence, which coincided with capriciousness and faddishness in the selection of hobbies.[83]

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Valentine, *Psychology and its Bearing on Education*, p. 544.

[83] Ibid., pp. 557, 567.

How one defined the adolescent mattered for this. In the only chapter devoted specifically to adolescence to appear in his *The Normal Child and Some of His Abnormalities* (1956), Valentine was equally keen to draw attention to the imported terminology of the US – noting that with consideration of 'the adolescent (roughly "the teenager") we are beginning to get beyond the period covered by the title of this book'.[84] The quotation marks around the term emphasised its alien status for many British writers, but invoked a social and cultural phenomena which could serve as a point of reference. Valentine felt that the scope of the book's title justified the section's inclusion, given that 'most adolescents betray conduct and traits which to most parents and many teachers seem strange abnormalities, if not actually neurotic symptoms'.[85] He also invoked the statistics that claimed adolescence as 'the peak age both for religious conversions and for juvenile delinquency', emphasising that these were due to 'new problems in the *social* life of the child'.[86] Here the 'teenager' was defined by his growing contact with the wider social structure and groups, not necessarily the family which was the normal unit for psychological analysis.

For Bowley, meanwhile, the normality of most transitions into adulthood were likewise emphasised, but the social played a less defining role. Similarly, she perceived both a change that was more qualitative than measurable. Boys were 'more *openly* aggressive, more daring and more energetic than girls', such that they were 'more likely to get into *serious* mischief' (emphases mine). This basic distinction was then overlaid with a chronological shift from the homosocial 'gang' activities of 'nine to eleven years [which] represent that period when children are very gregarious' to later more solitary offences.[87] Part

[84] Valentine, *The Normal Child*, p. 271.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., p. 272. Emphasis in original.

[87] Bowley, *Modern Child Psychology*, p. 93.

of her variance and unease lay in debates about the age of onset for adolescence and puberty.[88] Hadow, as we have seen, opted for a general age of eleven for its 'tide rising in the veins'. Yet by the middle of the century, there was much concern that the age of puberty was decreasing at a faster rate. J. M. Tanner's work on this subject, published in 1961, advocated a 'secular' trend towards a progressive reduction in the average onset age.[89]

One of the primary means by which British psychology did attempt to situate the social into aetiology and analysis was through consideration of the family and its problems. The family was equally the basic unit of concern for the sociologist and the social psychologists who existed on the boundaries of the two disciplines. Madeleine Kerr and John Barron Mays drew from this in the inter- and post-war periods, in studies of specific local communities in Liverpool.[90] This was related to an emerging post-war consensus forming around the work of John Bowlby and Donald Winnicott concerned with the democratic 'self', a 'Freudish' understanding of relations, and supplemented with both ethology and object relations theories.[91] The case-study approach of Burt, as well as the Freudians, likewise placed an emphasis on the child's home life as the principal source of anti-social feeling and aggression, although each differed as to the precise nature of the underlying mechanism. Yet by the post-war period, the dominance of the middle-ground approach to infant psychology adopted by Bowlby and Winnicott threatened the place of the sociological in child mental

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[88] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, p. 99.

[89] Tanner, *Education and Physical Growth*, pp. 48-52, 97-112.

[90] Madeleine Kerr, *The People of Ship Street* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958); Mays, *Growing Up in the City*.

[91] Richards, 'Britain on the couch'; Shapira, *The War Inside*; Frank C. P. van der Horst, *John Bowlby : from psychoanalysis to ethology: unravelling the roots of attachment theory* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 75-102.

health. This over-focus on infancy served to make the adolescent a marginal presence in this literature, such that dissatisfaction with the lack of an appropriately theorised adolescence may well have been one factor pushing teachers towards more psycho-social (and certainly social-scientific) approaches to understanding the behaviour of their pupils.

Part of the problem for psychologists, however, was scepticism about the school itself. In his seminal *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*, for example, Winnicott proved heavily resistant towards the idea of the school as a therapeutic environment. '[N]o one', he wrote, 'wants a teacher to take up a therapeutic attitude towards pupils', not least because he could 'see but little in teaching that is truly equivalent to the deliberate diagnosis of doctors'.[92] Winnicott instead proposed a system of classification based on the relationships within the home environment: children 'whose homes are satisfactory' and 'those whose homes are unsatisfactory'. Crucial to assess the distinction was the way in which children use the homes for 'emotional development', or whether they sought in schools 'what their home has failed to provide'.[93] These projected, imagined and real evocations of home were places that had the capacity 'to withstand aggression and to tolerate aggressive ideas' and thus steer the naturally aggressive, egotistical infant.[94] Hendrick has recently suggested that Bowlby and Winnicott typify a sociological approach to child psychology, but this is questionable.[95] Winnicott, as exemplified in the title of his book, was interested in the 'outside world' and external realities. However, this was still translated through the prism of younger children and the development of their personality in the social world *through* the home. In other

[92] Winnicott, *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*, p. 205.

[93] Ibid., pp. 206-207.

[94] Ibid., p. 207.

[95] Harry Hendrick, *Narcissistic Parenting in an Insecure World: a history of parenting culture, 1920s to present* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), pp. 99-102.

words, the home and the mother relationship were imagined as uniquely familial spaces. There was a failure by psychologists within this strand to translate these ideas into a truly sociological sense, either for the infant or the adolescent.

It was also more difficult for British psychologists, within a framework centred around younger children and their relationships to the totemic mother, to place aggression outside of biology.[96] These were often tied to British psychology's focus on instincts (seen in Chapter Two). Divergences over these tended towards differences of opinion as to degree than necessarily of kind. Thus, although the differences between Freudians and those opposed to them (such as Valentine) did often lie more in disagreements over which instincts (sexuality, aggression, acquisitiveness) were actually present in the child, they were equally to be found in arguments over the stages of development in which these became active, and over how social structures influenced the timing of their emergence. Aggression, as the previous chapter noted, was considered an important drive or instinct in virtually all of the main strands and schools of psychological thought in Britain. Valentine's work constituted one attempt to bring some recognition of a social dimension back into work on emotions and aggressiveness in children. In the first edition of his *Psychology and Its Bearing on Education* (1950), he included a section dealing with the 'social and educational significance of pugnacity, aggressiveness and anger'.[97]

Educationists and pedagogues, however, also made attempts to appropriate psychological thought and integrate it into more social-conscious models. One of the main debates that raged in the pages of the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* about how

[96] Ben Mayhew, 'Between love and aggression: the politics of John Bowlby', *History of the Human Sciences*, 19:4 (2006), pp. 19-35.

[97] Valentine, *Psychology and Its Bearing on Education*, p. 86.

best to integrate psychology into teacher training.[98] The idea of 'teaching science', or pedagogy, was also promoted by several other groups: the theosophically-oriented New Educational Fellowship (NEF), which attracted the support of Bowlby, and, after 1945, the newly formed National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) based at the London Institute of Education (itself one of the first centres for interdisciplinary pedagogical studies).[99] The NEF published a short, popular paperback entitled *Advances in Understanding the Adolescent* in 1935, which went through no less than ten editions before the 1950s.[100] This was in addition to an edited volume, published in collaboration with Heinemann, under the direction of Vernon Mallinson which sought to draw international comparisons. Mallinson set the intellectual tone for the book in his editor's foreword by emphasising that the Hadow Report, while 'right as it was in forcing teachers to become more "child-conscious" if not yet fully "child-centred" in their approach', had led to the adolescent losing 'contact with himself. Family life has dissolved away'.[101] The dangers for the adolescent lay precisely in how the family was positioned in relation to his needs for independence and movement in spaces outside the home. Meanwhile, a flavour of some of the research

[98] S. R. Laycock, 'Teachers reactions to maladjustments of school children', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1934), pp. 11-29; James Drever, 'The place of psychology in the training and work of the teacher', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1935), pp. 242-249; A. W. Wolters, 'Psychology in the training of teachers', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1935), pp. 250-256; H. R. Hamley, 'The place of psychology in the training of teachers', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1936), pp. 1-8; Frank E. Moreton, 'Attitudes of teachers and scholars towards co-education', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1946), pp. 82-95; and P. E. Vernon, 'Postgraduate training of teachers in psychology', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1950), pp. 149-152.

[99] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, pp. 119-120. See also, the file of correspondence and administrative documents in: London Institute of Education Archives (IoE), NFER/1.

[100] New Educational Fellowship, *Advances in Understanding the Adolescent*, 10th edition (London: NEF, 1961 [1938]).

[101] Vernon Mallinson, 'Editor's Foreword', in idem (ed), *The Adolescent at School: experiments in education* (London, Heinemann, 1949), pp. 7-8.

commissioned into discipline and behaviour during this period is offered by the NFER's *Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools* (1952). As noted above, the very existence of NFER testifies to interest in professionalising and institutionalising pedagogy in this period. Part of this lay in the use of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to judge the effectiveness or otherwise of behaviour control methods. In doing so, it sought to merge psychology with reflections on the child's environment. The survey reported that the 'pupil in school carries with him the habits, attitudes, [and] manners already ingrained by the local community standards', which, 'in many cases', were characterised by situations where 'home discipline is poor; the educational and moral standards of the child's ultimate environment is lax; the attitudes and spoken opinions of the parents and elder children may be actively antagonistic to the teachers and to the standards represented by the schools'.[102] This formed a key limiting factor on what the school was capable of achieving and, in a less explicitly radical way than the Mallinson text, attempted to devise a pedagogy of discipline based on scientific studies of human behaviour and motivation. '[H]ome and neighbourhood conditions' could ensure that children had an 'absence of goodwill toward the school and school work, indifference, heedlessness, apathy, listlessness or, at worst, active, aggressive resentment', as well as 'ignorance of, and lack of habitation in, adequate standards of behaviour'.[103]

Pedagogy was therefore limited, even if the psycho-social school pupil was promoted in educational research. The truly psycho-social *adolescent*, however, only began to emerge in the 1960s. One prominent scholar of child and adolescent psychology to undertake this

[102] National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales (NFER), *A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools* (London: Newnes Educational Publishing Co, 1952), p. 36-37.

[103] Ibid., p. 360.

was William Douglas Wall. A social psychiatrist, Wall made his name with studies of the cultural and social lives of adolescents in the 1940s.[104] First published in 1965, his *Adolescents in School and Society* made clear, by its very title, that the adolescent was being defined by his engagement with specific, physical sites of education and leisure. He began the book by noting the diversity of disciplinary perspectives within the field, and addressed each one of these in turn, including the 'socio-cultural' theory of adolescence which he attributed to John Mays.[105] What is perhaps more significant was his consciousness of living in a moment of profound social upheaval, which served to enhance his feeling that psychology was struggling to maintain accurate models for behaviour. 'We seem to be emerging into a new form of society, unique in the experience of mankind', he claimed, in which not only had democracy massified but there was now a questioning of 'sex roles', norms and regulations.[106] Expressing succinctly the psycho-social case, he argued that the implications behind these shifts lay in the way that 'certain styles of life and forms of social organisation may be bringing about profound changes in personality'.[107] The social became linked to mental pathology. In this narrative, the adolescent in secondary schools was at risk of 'transient' maladjustment, but also 'cultural deprivation'.[108] Teenagers were deemed the primary victims of this, felt to be 'teetering on the brink' without direction and guidance and with the 'anxiety and fear' generated by this producing 'two broad kinds of panic behaviour

[104] W. D. Wall and W. A. Simon, 'The emotional responses of adolescent groups to certain films', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1950), pp. 153-163; W. D. Wall, *The Adolescent Child* (London: Methuen & Co, 1948).

[105] W. D. Wall, *Adolescents in School and Society* (London: NFER, 1968), p. 2.

[106] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[107] Ibid., p. 6.

[108] Ibid., p. 107.

… violently aggressive outbursts, or quiescence'.[109] Sarah Hayes has observed a similar tendency in contemporary psychological literature to divide the effects of maladjustment into two diametrically-opposed possibilities: 'rabbits or rebels'.[110] But it is additionally worthy of comment that Wall cited this explicitly within a social landscape, with citations both to Galbraith's *Affluent Society* and Riesman's *Lonely Crowd*.[111] More revealing still is Wall's identification of four selves which he held to develop during adolescence: 'social, sexual, vocational and philosophic'.[112] Calling for greater work into these indicates the extent to which the 'social' self of the adolescent was, Wall believed, largely under-developed by psychologists in the earlier period. This shows that psychologists could engage with social change, but only in the later part of the mid-century period. They prepared the terrain for later approaches, not least the 'systems' approaches and the social psychiatry of Michael Rutter (discussed in Chapter Six). It was in debates over deprivation, it appears, that the psycho-social (most often through social psychiatry) could achieve influence, and even notoriety.[113]

This was not confined to experimental psychiatrists such as Wall. Even Freudians like Bowley increasingly found their professional trajectories taking them towards this. In Bowley's case, however, this was based on a *moral* response to social changes that appears to have no immediate parallel among other psychologists. The first impression of this can be located in a book that she published in 1953 as a collaboration with an Anglican priest,

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[109] Ibid., p. 9.

[110] Sarah Hayes, 'The medicalisation of maladjustment: the conceptualisation and management of child behaviour problems in Britain, *ca*.1890-1955', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter (2008), pp. 79-81.

[111] Wall, *Adolescents in School and Society,* p. 6.

[112] Ibid., p. 13.

[113] Welshman, *Underlcass*; Welshman, *From Transmitted Deprivation to Social Exclusion : poverty, policy and parenting* (Bristol: Polity Press, 2012).

Michael Townroe.[114] Commenting on adolescence as a key moment in emotional and spiritual awakening, the authors noted the idealistic fervour of most young converts, and the adolescent's capacity for 'real altruism and self-sacrifice'.[115] Oscillating religious doubt and radicalism had, of course, been linked to adolescence since the end of the nineteenth century,[116] and, as Valentine was to argue: '[a] keen interest in the idea of doing some work of great value to mankind is not uncommon at this period'.[117] The co-existence of Freudian psychoanalysis with an emotional form of High Anglicanism positions Bowley and Townroe's narrative within a more complex narrative of social change in post-war Britain. Published alongside the Coronation, the book's postscript looked to the mystical dimensions of the national event to bring people together spiritually'.[118] It sought to position youth and adolescence within a peculiar blend of British modernism – typified by both forward-looking and more avant-gardist tendencies – identifiable in this moment both in retrospect and by contemporary sociologists.[119]

Two decades later, however, Bowley's opinions of youth had slipped towards a more pessimistic form. Carrying a foreword by the Bishop of Lincoln, *Children at Risk* (1975) was Bowley's last foray into general advice books about childhood and human growth.[120] A

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[114] Agatha Bowley and Michael D. Townroe, *The Spiritual Development of the Child* (Edinburgh: E & S Livingstone, 1953), p. 77.

[115] Ibid., p. 26.

[116] Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 66-67.

[117] Valentine, *Parents and Children*, p. 181.

[118] Bowley and Townroe, *Spiritual Development of the Child*, p. 77.

[119] Becky Conekin, *The Autobiography of a Nation: the 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

[120] Bowley, *The Young Handicapped Child*. This book went through new editions in 1968 and 1972. It was eventually reissued as *The Handicapped Child: educational and*

concise volume, *Children at Risk* began by foregrounding what the author identified as the key problems of society. These included 'psycho-somatic illnesses, school phobias, enuresis, nervous tics, school and home maladjustments, learning problems' as well as 'violence and juvenile delinquency' – all felt to be on the increase.[121] Indeed, if the post-war period marked a transition towards a focus on adolescence in her work, it also revealed a parallel – if delayed – shift towards aggression:

> This whole subject of aggression is of considerable importance in view of the extremely violent world in which we live. Mugging, hi-jacking, killing innocent civilians by strategically placed bombs are disastrous features of our times. Youthful violence has become widespread.[122]

In one sense, Bowley's arguments as articulated here can be situated in a specific 1970s context.[123] But I posit that it equally looks back towards her own early career, particularly in the context of an inter-war psychology which sought to account for the *political* aggression of fascism and communism. Bowley therefore positioned her writing against the perceived break-down of older structures and embedded her understanding of aggression both within the extraordinary events of the social and geopolitical landscape rather than the concrete worlds of everyday experience. Bowley's understanding of what 'anti-social behaviour' and 'aggression' actually meant here thus demonstrate the mobilisation of political and social

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psychological guidance for the organically handicapped (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1980).

[121] Agatha Bowley, *Children at Risk: the basic needs of children in the world today* (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1975), pp. ix-x.

[122] Ibid, p. 3.

[123] In particular, the role of 'crisis' narratives in 1970s discussions of a wide-range of political and social events: Joe Moran, '"Stand up and be counted": Hughie Green, the 1970s and popular memory', *History Workshop Journal*, 70 (2010), pp. 172-198.

categories. She was clear from the very beginning of the book that Freud remained central to her thought on this topic, just as she reiterated her earlier view that adolescents needed an 'outlet' for their aggressive 'impulses'. It was this desire to place the biological impulse as the primary motivating force which differentiates her work from that of most practising teachers whose understanding of behaviour and the pedagogy of discipline, as we shall see in the next chapter, was firmly fixed in what they saw as the 'real' urban landscape of lived experience. Post-war psychologists were therefore nuanced in their understanding of aggression. But they were also unable to develop models for understanding adolescence as a social phenomenon, only coming to it comparatively later during the 1960s.

(3.4) Conclusion

Whereas psychology was increasingly distanced from the school, the language of sociology seemed capable of explaining more about the state of post-war Britain, and about the role of the social – a word that psychologists used but could not define. This may partially account for the limitations of the 'teenager' invoked by Valentine; a being who proved to be outside the scope of a solely psychological framework. Although there was a progressive increase in the inclusion of adolescence in advice books for both parents and teachers, the figure remained marginal throughout the 1950s. It would take the major social upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s for this concern into solidify in major critical psychological theory in the work of the American Erik Erikson and the Briton Ronald Laing.[124] In Britain, however, psychology's efforts to understand adolescence during the mid-century moment were weak. Adolescence was in the contradictory position of being both a culmination and a

[124] Jones, 'Raising the anti'.

recapitulation of human development. This accounted, perhaps, for the growing ambivalence, and eventually anxiety, in Bowley's published output.

Indeed, there was certainly a more general sense of pessimism – about the young and the prospects for the discipline – creeping into psychological writings, but also into the reports of educational psychologists during this period. 'The sixties began with high hopes' for educational psychology, noted the Birmingham-based Bannon in a report from February 1970, but '[i]n view of their disillusionment with the sixties, our psychologists can hardly look forward with keen anticipation to the implementation of the Summerfield Report [1968] which assesses the psychological staffing needs of the City at almost three times its present strength'.[125] By the early 1970s, the twin issues of waiting lists and delays in the service were becoming critical, compounded by a shortage of PSWs.[126] At the July 1971 meeting of Birmingham's Education Committee it was proposed to pool council resources to establish a 'Joint Psychological Service', which would be better staffed and see cases from across the council's departments, but at the cost of losing a specialised service dealing solely with children.[127] I have suggested that what might be termed a 'local consensus' on child guidance and the psychological services did exist across the three case studies as far as behaviour was concerned. Only Leicester really attempted to integrate the adolescent into its systems but, even then, did so only in the early 1960s. The double nature of psychology's limitations – a lack of funding and influence in the settlement, and its inability to make its voice heard in

[125] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/16/1/1/21, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 6 February 1970, attached typescript, 'Senior Psychologist's Report'.

[126] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/16/1/1/8, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 12 October 1956, item 4096; and BCC/1/BH/16/1/1/21, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 6 February 1970, item 9716.

[127] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/16/1/1/22, Special Services sub-committee minutes, 27 November 1970, items 9860 and 9861.

engagements about the social – are foregrounded here as one way of assessing the challenge that the more explicitly social critique of the social sciences could pose to the post-war educational framework. The following chapter inverts this historical perspective and views these top-down processes at the level of abstract theorising from below. It suggests that teachers' own experiences of classroom management and behaviour predisposed them away from overly psychological explanations of behaviour and towards ones that could be grounded in local and (auto)biographical experience.

CHAPTER 4:

‘TAKE HIS CLASSROOM AS HE FINDS IT’: TEACHERS, ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION, AND THE PROBLEMATISATION OF THE ADOLESCENT LANDSCAPE, 1954-1972

In this chapter, I turn the focus almost entirely away from the practitioners of psychology and psychiatry and towards mid-century social science. In particular, I argue that the period from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s was characterised by the predominance of sociological and ethnographic frameworks in teachers’ own constructions of adolescence and adolescent behaviour problems. This is neatly encapsulated in the quotation from the teacher and writer Richard Farley, and his advice book *Secondary Modern Discipline: with special reference to the “difficult” adolescent in socially depressed industrial areas* (1960), which is paraphrased in the chapter title. Addressing the likely criticism that his work offered an overly pessimistic impression of the working-class male adolescent, he wrote that he was:

> only discussing attitudes and remedies which work in our present legal and social framework. It is utterly useless for me to advocate what ought to be, or even what ought not to be, because the teacher has to take his classroom and environment as he finds it. In a more enlightened community, corporal punishment would be perhaps completely unnecessary, whilst in a reactionary state hard discipline might work. One may regret teenage violence at the moment, … but these attitudes, worthy as they are, are merely academic. I am concerned with the positive situation as it is now, and methods of coping with it.[1]

[1] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline,* p. 55.

As with the psychologists in the previous chapter, the mid-century was dominated by discourses of pragmatism. How male teachers of boys could 'find' the class in the way that Farley envisaged was, I suggest, through a process of social observation and thick description of the adolescents that they taught, of their working-class lives, and of the urban, industrial landscape in which they lived and moved. Yet, in this context, Farley's invocation of the 'social' serves another role in this extract: as a device to close down other ways of looking at the problem. Its pragmatism constituted a 'positive' version of the real against what the author considered a more abstract trend. The landscapes characterised as urban here represented concrete, physical realities. The techniques of social description and analysis used here therefore had a dual role: to invoke a more pessimistic narrative about the adolescent in the post-war school system, and to develop, through ethnographic observation, new pedagogies of discipline based on relationships with the pupils.

These narratives corroborate Tisdall's idea of a limiting trend at work in post-war educational practice, exemplified by the popularisation of a Piagetian framework which classified the adolescent as incapable of handling abstract thought, and of the inter-war psychological belief that he was aggressive.[2] But I want to suggest that, for male secondary-modern teachers at least, this was as much based on sociological limitations as biological or developmental ones. Moreover, this became bound together with discourses of professional identity. Teachers simultaneously integrated the male adolescent into the landscapes of his life and experience and then positioned their own professional, gendered identities as uniquely and favourably-situated observers of the impacts of those sociological circumstances. The landscapes that they imagined and wrote about covered a variety of local and national spaces – real and imaginary – through which the adolescent could move and in

[2] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', p. 27; Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', p. 501.

which his behaviour could be situated. Nevertheless, as I shall show, even these 'real' environments masked a series of research methods that rendered the landscape and the adolescent in abstract ways. Like Savage's twentieth-century social scientists, teachers have been adept at 'systematically conceal[ing] [their] tracks'.[3]

The ethnography practised by teachers was also autobiographical in form. It suited teachers because it allowed them to position their own lives in proximity to their pupils whilst retaining a sense of intellectual distance. Teachers most frequently entered and interacted with these spaces as outsiders; middle-class professionals in the working-class districts of towns and cities, or, as Carter's work shows, in a more rural milieu.[4] While Carter's work offers a corrective to the pessimistic, urban-centred narratives of the problem pupil and secondary school, I want to pause to reflect on the emergence of that interpretation. Media representations of the 'blackboard jungle' certainly played a role. But teachers themselves contributed to certain representations based on their outsider status in the working-class secondary modern school. I consequently argue that their attempts to make sense of these environments and landscapes took the form of quasi-ethnographical observation and its associated tropes. Teachers borrowed vocabularies and research methodologies from the social sciences of sociology, anthropology and ethnography to describe the state and directions of this world and the people within it. This included thick description, a term on which I rely in this chapter and later parts of the thesis. Defined by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in the early 1970s as the implicit subjective within the apparently explicit objective (particularly within ethnographic fieldnotes) I use the term to imply two things.[5]

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[3] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 237.

[4] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education'.

[5] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 3-30.

Firstly, I argue that the descriptions given of the adolescent landscape by teachers often read like fieldnotes and contribute towards presenting adolescence and its landscapes ethnographically. While the othering effect of teachers' discourse on working-class areas and adolescents has been noted by both Tisdall and by Wright, the ways in which such discourses engaged with contemporary social-scientific discourse has been relatively underestimated and remains absent from the historiography (with the possible exception of Wright's relation of log-books to 'slumming' discourses).[6] Secondly, I apply 'thick description' to demonstrate the multiple layers of meaning in teachers' texts. Geertz intended the term as a challenge to existing methodologies in his discipline, and wanted to use it to reflect critically on the anthropologist's primary source material and processes of data-collection. Likening teachers to ethnographers emphasises how the school could also serve a site of observation and research, albeit not always of a highly disciplined variety. The teachers in this chapter all published material based on their work with adolescents; like ethnographers, they drew from experiences in specific locations and attempted to render these knowable to audiences beyond those places. They therefore engaged in the gathering, processing and transmission of information and these can be interpreted in various ways through the 'thick description' of the resulting text. As Geertz applied the term to anthropology in the 1970s, I accept that using it in a discussion of the 1950s and 1960s is something of an anachronism, but it remains a productive one for considering the shifting place of the social as something that teachers attempted to describe and define. It also situates teachers in the wider framework of quasi-ethnographic work being undertaken at this time, although its practitioners did not always accept the label. When asked in an early-1990s interview about the 'unique feature' of the '"ethnographic" detail as it might now be called' in *Uses of Literacy*, for instance, Hoggart

[6] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"'; Wright, 'The work of teachers'.

claimed that such observation was merely his manifestation of 'Leavisite', 'literary' analysis.[7]

As I show below, teacher ethnography took a variety of forms: published studies of participant-observation, advice manuals based on personal experience by teachers, and works of ostensibly fictional representation of life in secondary-modern schools, beginning with Michael Croft's *Spare the Rod* (1954) and Edward Blishen's *Roaring Boys* (1955).[8] The thin line between these apparently distinct genres reflects a context in which the boundary between teacher and social-scientific observer was often blurred. Constructions of professional identity around shared sites and experiences predominate in all of these textual productions, and the fictional works in particular offer a window onto the role of the pedagogy of discipline in the construction of autobiographical self-narratives. In the final section, I explore the techniques used to achieve this in specifically literary productions, to argue that the use of landscape had become both a recognisable teacher trope and integral to teachers' autobiographical stances and self-positioning. Before this, I briefly examine some of the background to this iteration of social science and ground it, and others of its genre, in their contemporary context.

[7] This was printed in the 1992 Penguin paperback re-edition of the text and is retained in the most recent (2009) edition: John Corner, 'An interview with Richard Hoggart', in Richard Hoggart, *Uses of Literacy: aspects of working-class life* (London, Penguin: 2009), pp. 351, 357.

[8] Michael Croft, *Spare the Rod* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1954); Blishen, *Roaring Boys*.

(4.1) A rediscovery of place? Imagining the urban environment

The 1960s have been defined as a moment of the 'rediscovery of poverty', as researchers' attention alighted on communities and landscapes that were deprived.[9] Sociology correspondingly grew in stature as both an academic discipline and as a set of research methodologies with some degree of public utility.[10] However, the roots of this lie in the 1950s. Studies appeared demonstrating the persistence of poverty into the era of the welfare state and the continued existence of marginalised groups; from Dennis Marsden's 'unmarried mothers' to urban poverty more widely.[11] As the original material of the social-scientific studies has been archived, the research of this period has been subjected to historiographical attention, which stresses the way in which the thick description of the fieldnotes transferred, explicitly and implicitly, into the final volumes. Pat Thane and Tanya Evans have offered a more critical reading of the way in which Marsden and his researchers represented their subjects in just this way.[12] The community studies initiatives of Kerr, Mays and others have similarly been reassessed.[13] Savage, too, has noted that data collection at this time was predicated on almost ethnographic encounters in which meaning was constructed and the interviewers responses to their interviewees were governed as much by their own

[9] Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London?', pp. 430, 442; Thane and Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?,* pp. 123-125.

[10] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 99-136.

[11] John Goldthorpe, *The Affluent Worker: political attitudes and behaviour* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1968); Dennis Marsden, *Mothers Alone: poverty and the fatherless family* (London: Allen Lane, 1969); Mays, *Growing Up in the City*.

[12] Tanya Evans and Pat Thane, 'Secondary Analysis of Dennis Marsden's Mothers Alone', *Methodological Innovations,* 1:2 (2006), pp. 78-82; idem, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?*, pp. 125-128.

[13] Angela Davis, 'A critical perspective on British social surveys and community studies and their accounts of married life, *c*.1945-1970', *Cultural and Social History,* 6:1 (2009), pp. 47-64.

expectations as what was said.[14] Mandler, returning to the popular anthropology of Geoffrey Gorer, which relied on the tabloid press, has gone so far as to suggest that these new materials require 'us to be better historians' than survey authors were 'social scientist[s]'.[15]

There are three broad points which emerge from this. Firstly, as Mandler's work on an eccentric like Gorer demonstrates, there was a space for more popular iterations of social science in mid-century Britain. In this, these disciplines mirror Thomson's suggestion of a vulgarised role for psychological theories in the earlier part of the twentieth century.[16] Secondly, the rediscovery of *poverty* is equally, I suggest, a rediscovery of *place*, and one that occurred through 'ethnography'. This latter term is particularly hard to define. Savage argues that it could potentially encompass a wide range of social-scientific practice, including Paul Thompson's 'life history' work.[17] I see it here as a renewal of interest in the role of the landscape and community, and the belief that only through interactions with people and place could observers coming to visit that landscape understand social behaviour. This is grounded in the social sciences, but equally in popular culture and works of literary fiction. Finally, these mid-century processes have a longer trajectory. What Seth Koven has termed the 'slumming' and class-boundary-crossing of the Victorian era social reportage thus finds, according to Stephen Brooke, a new form in 1960s novels of working-class life.[18] Connell has likewise suggested a similar way of reading documentary photography from this period, in which the 'social realist' documentary style impinged on art, literature and their

[14] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 3-5.

[15] Mandler, 'Being his own rabbit', p. 208.

[16] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*.

[17] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 14.

[18] Koven, *Slumming*; Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London'.

representations of landscape.[19] All of these threads, I argue, manifest examples of an ethnographic eye; one that could be photographic (as in Connell's work) but, more usually, purely textual and written. Landscape and place were essential to these, in the form of a specific topography in which action could take place.

I want to suggest that the ethnographic provides a productive way to think about popular social-scientific culture in mid-twentieth-century Britain. The erotics of Koven's 'slumming' story, worthy though they are, undoubtedly obscure the wider history of the meanings ascribed to the 'social' by his actors. Indeed, the late-Victorian story is bound together with the development of the social sciences, particularly ethnography and anthropology. As Savage notes, where anthropology was practised in early-twentieth-century Britain, it tended to be inward looking; feeding through into community studies and Mass-Observation's desire to produce an 'anthropology of ourselves'.[20] Tom Harrisson's work with Mass-Observation, for example, emerged from his participative fieldwork with tribal communities.[21] Overlaying this was the push-and-pull of local and national landscapes. These were sometimes specified, at other times not, in accordance with what Savage identifies as a search for the mythical 'Middletown'; an empirical framework that transcended local specificities.[22] Community studies, such as Kerr's and Mays' work, placed the urban slum in the context of its city (in this instance, Liverpool) but sought to disguise the specific locations through pseudonyms ('Ship Street').[23] The names subbed are themselves often richly

[19] Connell, 'Race, prostitution and the New Left'.

[20] Madge and Harrisson, *Mass-Observation*, p. 10.

[21] Hinton, *The Mass Observers*, p. 11.

[22] Hinton, *The Mass Observers*, p. 247; Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 137.

[23] Kerr, *The People of Ship Street*; Mays, *Growing Up in the City*.

evocative and almost playful in the way in which they seek to use common tropes of local life and industry to suggest somewhere that is simultaneously specific, in being defined by its use or local topography, but also deracinated: 'Worktown' (Bolton), 'Holidaytown' (Blackpool).[24]

Two examples can help to illustrate how such texts invoked the landscape, but also how the ethnographic became a significant trope in popularised studies. One work in this vein is Marie Paneth's *Branch Street* (1944). Subtitled 'a sociological study', it recounted her experience as a youth-worker in Islington during the Second World War. Originally from Austria, Paneth was a refugee with an interest in the use of art to help traumatised children.[25] Her acknowledgements page references Cyril Burt, who she claimed had read and endorsed the manuscript.[26] In her description of helping the Branch Street children, there is a focus on the urban environment and its physicality which narrates the description of the area thus:

> Branch Street in daylight is not very attractive either. Like other streets of better repute in London's Metropolitan area, it is built in a slight curve. All the homes are alike. It is a rather narrow street […] There are no gardens in front of the houses, nor at the back.[27]

The detail here is thick description of an urban landscape. It constructs an image in the reader's mind, but one that is not free of subjective judgment on those details and the lives within the landscape. Indeed, the text is accompanied by examples of children living in overcrowded accommodation with unsanitary facilities.[28] Leila Berg's (1917-2012)

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[24] Hinton, *The Mass Observers*, pp. 17-31.

[25] Marie Paneth, *Branch Street: a sociological study* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1944) pp. 24, 67.

[26] Ibid., unpaginated acknowledgements.

[27] Ibid., p. 35.

[28] Ibid., p. 72.

Risinghill: death of a comprehensive school (1967), was another, albeit chronologically later, part of this trend.[29] It placed its discussion and description of the landscape of Islington in a central chapter, simply entitled 'The Place', and in the context of her wider discussion of the case of Risinghill comprehensive school's closure and the progressive but controversial policies of its headteacher, Michael Duane (see Chapter Eight).[30] A children's writer and member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Berg had an interest in psychology, and this is evident in her use of labels such as 'disturbed' to describe local children.[31] Although psychologists did not have an input into the manuscript, as was the case in Paneth's work, their influence is there. *Risinghill* is still dedicated to 'memory of Susan Isaacs' as well as the radical educators Homer Lane and Alex Bloom. Each chapter also begins with short epigraphs taken from the Newsom Report, adding an intertextual dimension and sense of validation to her own social methodology. The social environment plays a role as well, a series of anecdotes and quotations drawn from tape-recorded interviews with the children driving the work. These serve to highlight the otherness of the place, such as the inspectors and administrators who found the children's wearing of coats indoors strange. Being from 'outside' of the district, they did not understand it as a reflection of poor housing where a need to retain warmth rendered this both necessary and normal.[32] In a richly evocative description of wandering through the streets, she writes:

> You stand there and stare at the shell of a house, and neatly-dressed intelligent-looking young woman leans out of an upstairs window next door, in a piece of terrace that holds

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[29] Berg, *Risinghill*.

[30] Ibid., pp. 44-61.

[31] Ibid., p. 55.

[32] Ibid., p. 59.

> together and her face is silent and hostile. 'Live like pigs, don't we! Disgusts you, doesn't it! Go on, look! Look a bit more!' says her cold stare. So you move on.[33]

It is in this vein that scholars have actively criticised the methods of these researchers. Fowler, for instance, criticises Hoggart's 'censorious' evocations of the 'juke box boys' in *Uses of Literacy*,[34] while Limond has suggested that Berg's writing is guilty of a 'distorting deprivationist discourse' and an 'airy anthropological confidence'.[35] While in broad agreement that the texts of this 'rediscovery of place' – and of place as symptomatic of poverty – do other the environment and its denizens, I argue that these writings can be better understood through a framework that recognises their ethnographic natures. The writings immerse the reader in a specific locality (neither work is illustrated) through the description of a landscape. The textual, rather than visual, nature of this allows local voices to be interwoven with the narrative invocation of physical conditions, as in the Berg example. Both texts thus contribute to an ethnographic trend, whose use with teachers shall be examined in the next section. This was nothing new. As early as the end of the nineteenth century, Wright notes Birmingham headteachers being 'informed by, and contribut[ing] to, a common discourse regarding Birmingham's slums'.[36] She relates this to a longer history of urban observation, the 'lurid travellers' tales', which contributed to the othering of working-class lives in this period, but equally in the work of local sociology societies and the reporting styles of the local and regional press.[37] Those who produced these texts certainly considered

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[33] Ibid., p. 44.

[34] Fowler, *Youth Culture*, p. 114. See also: David Fowler, 'From jukebox boys to revolting students: Richard Hoggart and the study of British youth culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10:1 (2007), pp. 73-84.

[35] Limond, 'Risinghill and the ecology of fear', p. 168.

[36] Wright, 'The work of teachers', p. 730.

[37] Ibid., p. 732.

themselves in proto-ethnographic terms; as 'social explorers' who relied on a language of 'slumming'.[38] Brooke likewise notes the parallels between the writings of Mayhew and other late-Victorian social observers in his analysis of 1960s middle-class, social-realist observers.[39] Teachers in the mid-century were thus immersed in a more ethnographic culture, and this chapter now explores how this influenced their efforts to represent adolescents and their landscape.

(4.2) The pedagogy of adolescent discipline and the landscape: shifts towards the social

The role of teachers as agents of transmission for more sociological concerns has been largely elided in the extant historiographical literature. Yet when the BPS became interested in teacher training in the early 1970s, it nonetheless found a large number of training courses in universities and colleges mandated introductory modules on the sociology of education, as well as core courses in educational or child psychology.[40] By the late-1950s and 1960s, sociology was enjoying a boom in the newer generation of universities, as well as promotion through the press and popular weekly-circulation journals such as *New Society* (which commenced publication in 1962). Sociology during this period consequently had a similar position to that occupied by psychology several decades earlier. That is, it existed in both intellectual and popular iterations, through the middle-ground of training in certain professions: criminology, social work and, most significantly for this analysis, teacher-

[38] Ibid., p. 731-732.

[39] Brooke, '"Slumming" in swinging London', pp. 440-441.

[40] Wellcome Library and Archives, PSY/BPS/1/14/5, BPS papers, assorted correspondence with universities and copies of syllabi.

training schemes. The psycho-social sat within this, but the balance undoubtedly shifted towards the 'social' at this time. Practitioners of social research felt that their ideas could have a positive impact upon society and social organisation. The spread of new methods – the interview, the detailed local survey, the case-study observation – came to define the workings of various disciplines. Yet the role of the 'amateur' in sociological study is an often-neglected part of the discipline's history.[41]

The immediate post-war period was defined by a growing common language within the social sciences. This was also marked by an emphasis on the analysis and retrieval of experience. Examples of these approaches can be found in attempts to analyse the opinions of adolescents, to see what they thought, and was also promoted through various groups such as the NFER and NEF who sought to translate their findings into teaching practice.[42] Social research methodology was consequently defined by a drawing together of expertise and a series of intellectual methods to recover, question and analyse a set of common concerns. Those concerns revolved around the place of youth in the world, and the fear of aggression and violence that adolescents could visit upon society. The teenager was an exemplary social symptom of change in society-at-large and within the schools specifically. Central to all of the texts was the development of a new series of methods for research into adolescence, society and community which sought to situate the adolescent in a descriptive, case-history narrative based not simply on the family life of the Bowlby-Winnicott consensus but the social and material urban landscapes of working-class life.

[41] For a discussion of this in relation to Gorer, see: Mandler, 'Being his own rabbit'; and idem, *Margaret Mead*.

[42] Frank Musgrove, *Youth and Social Order* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1968).

One common form through which mid-twentieth-century anxieties about adolescence were expressed was the use of youth to diagnose a range of social disturbances. To do this, the adolescent needed to be situated within a locality and the peer and family relations dependent upon it. The idea of the social as inherently pathological – and the adolescent as a core component of this – remained powerful tropes in writing across a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. Schools occupied a central place in this discussion of landscape. Alick Holden's *Teachers as Counsellors* (1967) was based on the author's experience as a teacher with additional counselling responsibilities in a Liverpool secondary-modern school. The actual school (or schools) from which the pupils were drawn remains anonymous – in common with standard case-history practice – a usage that, as Savage notes, offers a veneer of universality and interchangeability to its findings.[43] Indeed, local factors are largely ignored, at the expense of a more generally imagined landscape. Consequently, both the environment and the male adolescents of Holden's school become deracinated and are frequently presented as symptoms of generic social malaises. This is reflected most acutely in the way that Holden attempts to balance the causative factors in his aetiological model. Sociology and biology were here grouped together as 'personal-social' and 'family-social' factors, explicitly underlining the extent to which Holden felt the causes of adolescent problems to be a mixture of both.[44] Yet the repetition of 'social' in both indicates that negotiation between the two placed greater emphasis on the social component. It was the question of adjustment during adolescence to the exigencies of society, for instance, which rendered the ages between fourteen and sixteen the principal 'time of emotional disturbance'.[45]

[43] Savage, *Identity and Social Change*, p. 137-153.

[44] Alick Holden, *Teachers as Counsellors* (London: Constable & Co, 1969), p. 101.

[45] Ibid., p. 101.

Yet the most revealing linguistic example of where the balance of power stood within this amalgam lies in Holden's assertion that counselling constituted a 'restoring' to 'social health'.[46] Furthermore, the social, as in Farley's work, marked the limits of possible intervention, and '[e]ven a counsellor's skill and care may prove abortive in the face of overwhelming odds represented by bad home conditions, [and] by environmental influences which may make a complete nonsense of almost any attempt to discuss in the simplest terms ideas of social conduct'.[47] Both environment and temperamental abnormality provided the limitations of what counselling was able to achieve, but only in the context of casting attention, once again, back to the adolescent's local landscape as the ultimate cause of his (social) maladjustment. This recognition could take the form of the 'client's' (Holden's preferred term) own cognisance that the topographies of home and school presented different, even diametrically opposed, images of acceptable behaviour.[48] Taken together, they point towards a renegotiation in the balance of the psycho-social towards the 'social'.

Richard Farley's *Secondary Modern Discipline* continues this trend. Mentioned briefly at the beginning of this chapter, it is one of the first training manuals entirely devoted to discipline in the mid-century classroom. Schools in 'socially depressed industrial areas', in Farley's analysis, offered a limit to the art of the possible in the implementation of radical pedagogies; ones that had to be tactfully considered in relation to the landscape.[49] This implicated many aspects of the school life; not only how information should be delivered and

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[46] Ibid., p. 183. See: Long, '"Often there is a good deal to be done, but socially rather than medically"'.

[47] Ibid., p. 102.

[48] Ibid., p. 117.

[49] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 13.

imparted, but how discipline should work. Hence his equivocation over corporal punishment, which he regarded as an unfortunate necessity based on the frameworks of order to which adolescents were already conditioned by their lived experience.[50] The exposé of life in a secondary modern school by another writer, John Partridge, also reads as thick description of participant observation. The efforts to hide the extent of corporal punishment in his secondary modern were not, Partridge argued:

> conscious deception on the part of the Headmaster and his staff; rather the attitude is one of, well we have to manage the boys and if this is the only way we can do so, then we do not want to complicate things further by broadcasting our methods to people who might possibly be embarrassed or misunderstand.[51]

Farley's solutions to disciplinary problems thus rested on more subtle pedagogies, which implicated masculine and empathic relations. He advocated the cultivation of group relationships so that 'the boys won't let you down because you will be included in their group ethic'.[52] Farley's conception of the teacher saw him (and this was invariably a male persona) straddle a divide between teacher and counsellor. Like Holden, the book was structured around an imitation case-study methodology, albeit expositing not apparently genuine samples from a casebook but rather 'types' of boys that teachers might meet.[53] Farley's and Holden's texts utilised a sociological framework, but sought to speak to a 'common-sense'

[50] Ibid., pp. 28-45.

[51] John Partridge, *Middle School* (London: Gollancz, 1966), p. 120.

[52] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline,* p. 30.

[53] Farley adumbrates several of these 'school types', including 'The "cocky" boy', 'the nervous boy', 'the funny man' and 'the well-meaning idiot': Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, pp. 86-90.

version of the discipline; one which acted as a restraint on the apparent excesses of psychological theorising.

But the landscapes constructed through these approaches were not necessarily entirely negative. There was a subtle romanticisation of the working-class landscape at work, too. It is impossible to know whether Holden or Farley had read Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*, but their understandings of lives lived in industrial areas certainly show evidence of the latter's narratives of change and continuity and lives in the landscape. These landscapes were not, in the words of Alec Clegg (Chief Education Officer for the West Riding of Yorkshire) and Barbara Megson (a sociologist), 'incompatible with affection and even with security', even if they were 'set in poverty and squalor'.[54] There was therefore a tendency to view urban poverty through a complex gaze, which both condemned its dangerous impact on development and behaviour whilst imbuing it with the romantic possibility of genuine familial bonds.

The anonymity of the landscapes likewise served to efface the traces of the teachers who wrote about it. As Savage notes, the standard academic conventions of sociological writing serve to render the bulk of the sociologist's labour invisible in the broader structures that support it.[55] The local case-study loomed large in these analyses, as a tool for referencing the impact of the landscape, but it was always generalised, and introduces a layer of distance between the author's real experiences (appealed to as a form of ethnographic realism) and the descriptive writings themselves. Farley's subjects were consequently not only disembodied, but were also grounded in abstract spaces, derived from real spaces of its author's experience

[54] Alec Clegg and Barbara Megson, *Children in Distress*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1976 [1968]), pp. 19-20.

[55] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*.

which cannot be reconstructed with ease by the historian. Although a biography in a later book about school discipline noted that he had spent time as a teacher in the north and 'inner London', there is no evidence to identify from where the individual cases derive.[56] Teacher writers, however, do not attempt to efface or render invisible their authorship entirely; in the case of both Farley and Holden, the proposed pedagogy of discipline is highly experiential. As I argue elsewhere, such texts were part of a broader trend in which the teacher was centralised as a key figure of discipline, drawing strength from parental authority and viewing the school as a moral economy.[57] Indeed, it is only the schoolchild or adolescent who, through anonymity of name and place, is effectively written out of the text.

(4.3) Teachers' writing, gender and landscape

One obvious aspect of the texts above is that they are all written by men who seek to make their gender significant to the teacher's relationship with his pupils and the urban landscape. The gendered dimension to this landscape and sense of place is notable, and appears to go together with the ethnographic style that they employ. Part of this is related to the tendency for male teachers to prioritise their experiential embodied knowledge of classroom discipline – what Tisdall terms the 'craft knowledge' around which many post-war secondary modern teachers built their identities and self-perceptions.[58] Such knowledge was founded on observation. As published documents, the act of writing and producing these observations

[56] Richard Farley, *Your Discipline in School* (London: New Education Press, 1990), unpaginated inner cover.

[57] Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline'.

[58] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"', p. 491; idem, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', p. 40.

was a significant aspect of performative masculinity. In fictional works, more than any other form, teachers could reimagine and position themselves, making their own labours the heroic epicentre of their narratives. As Tisdall notes, a common trope of the 'blackboard jungle' genre was the professional and masculine evolution of the teacher-protagonist.[59] Even outside of fiction, however, male identities and life narratives could be central. Most of Farley's case-studies, for instance, read in a highly anecdotal style.

Networks of masculine relationships were equally significant. Farley's book was dedicated to a fellow airman killed in action in 1942, evoking a symbol of male comradeship and appealing to the commonality of war and military service as a shared male experience. These networks also positioned the boy as the target of the male teacher's insights. *Secondary Modern Discipline* deliberately eschews discussion of disciplining adolescent girls, reducing it to one chapter that notes their supposedly 'docile' natures and their sexual menace to men.[60] Blishen, meanwhile, was a conscientious objector, but, like Farley, was marked by the experience of the conflict to the point of dedicating an entire autobiographical volume to it.[61] The Second World War served as a cohesive autobiographical experience which marked out a masculinity that the children whom they taught, as emasculated boys, were too young to remember or had experienced differently. Almost all of the men were also, significantly, from working-class backgrounds and drew on inside knowledge of the landscape's ethnography, as Hoggart did.

In one sense, then, the working-class landscape may have been imbued with a valence of authenticity and offered one response to a perceived feeling of 'distance' between

[59] Tisdall, 'Inside the blackboard jungle', pp. 492-493, 502.

[60] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 65.

[61] Blishen, *A Cack-Handed War*.

pedagogical theory and practice.[62] For Farley, 'some' psychological writings, particularly sexual readings of corporal punishment, could be characterised as outright 'rubbish'. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that relationships with pupils were important, describing a masculine equivalent to the maternal role identified by Steedman.[63] The difference, however, was that such men were not prohibited by marriage and fatherhood from serving as teachers. 'Discipline is something built up over the years', he wrote, through the gradual gaining of a boy's trust.[64] Farley perhaps most epitomises this trend, although it can equally be found elsewhere and even in the writings of male psychologists such as Valentine.[65] This foregrounding of the author's unique, almost enviable, direct experiences indicates that male teachers were felt to be more receptive to those who appeared to speak from a similar own position of quotidian interaction with adolescents rather than one based on theory.[66]

These gendered identities, and their impact on perceptions of discipline, were recognised by contemporary social-scientists observing the teaching profession. According to the NFER's 1952 discipline survey, male teachers were found to associate education with 'masculine' values, imbuing 'so-called "psychological" measures' with 'a flavour of weakness, hesitancy and effeminacy, and, by implication, inefficiency'.[67] The concluding part to the report similarly noted that teachers were frequently the first psychological casualties of poor discipline, and men especially. 'The 'loss of "face" which accompanies

[62] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 11.

[63] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, pp. 28-29; Steedman, 'The mother made conscious'.

[64] Richard Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, pp. 28-29.

[65] Valentine, *Psychology of Early Childhood*, p. vii.

[66] Valentine, *The Normal Child*, unpaginated inside cover.

[67] NFER, *A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools*, p. 29.

loss of class-control', it noted, 'is felt acutely in our society by men teachers because of our particular masculine ideals. This is one reason, apart from any possibly sex-linked qualities of temperament, why men as a group are more prone to believe in, and use, corporal punishment than women'.[68] These factors contributed to a trend in which male teachers who wrote about discipline looked to social research for explanations that enabled them to resist the over-psychologisation of adolescent boys. For these men, the urban landscape and the evolving cultural values embedded within it, seems to be coded as masculine. Farley, for example, wrote at length on the social values of the affluent landscape, and of the dangers this posed to the teenager (not least if weak mothers failed to keep them in check).[69] Holden evoked a world of subcultures and their impact on self-perception.[70]

The most lyrical and poetic evocations of the problematic male teenager in his urban landscape are most frequently to be found in the work of teachers or those with experience of children in the classroom setting, but the ethnographic method also served to avoid politically contentious topics. It is not inconsequential, however, that Farley began the section of the book dealing with working-class life with an apology for raising the issue of class: 'I have no desire to bring the class question to the fore, but in Britain it is a social fact which impinges on our frame of reference'.[71] In spite of his protestations that he addressed the subject only reticently, Farley's book is notable for its descriptions of class and its impacts. Indeed, the focus of this section succeeding his comment was overwhelmingly on the cultural effects of class, with Farley taking great care to outline what he felt were the main pastimes for children

[68] Ibid., p. 359.

[69] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, pp. 68-70.

[70] Holden, *Teachers as Counsellors*, pp. 43, 49.

[71] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 69.

of this age and social group. Such children have a 'greater interest in violence', 'precocious behaviour regarding sexual matters', 'greater belief in material values and an acquisitive society', 'morbid curiosity about war and crime', 'affectation of American attitudes and mannerisms' and, in the final analysis, 'boredom and frustration brought about by the inability of everyday city life to match up to celluloid fantasies'.[72] This litany ultimately signalled a cultural chasm between school and home. In such urban landscapes, 'the teacher represents the alien world',[73] emphasised by their living in the suburbs and commuting to work, and characterised by a 'social and psychological wall that one puts between one's self and one's pupils'.[74] That wall was exacerbated by geography, but such distance helped to constitute the teacher as an ideal ethnographic observer. Unlike Brooke's middle-class subjects who had to cross-over and live in the space, teachers could move between two parallel, though connected, sites: their middle-class homes and work.

While some areas were characterised by inner-city terraced housing, others were defined by suburban housing estates or, later in the period, high-rise flats. In all variants, however, the continuum between the two main environments was a recurrent feature; particularly in its understandings of the difficult passage from school to home (for both pupil and teacher) and the sense that behaviour normal in the latter might become pathological in the other. Hence Farley's appeal to environmental factors took a more pessimistic view of the interventions possible through education:

[72] Ibid, p. 71.

[73] Ibid, p. 91, 108.

[74] Ibid, p. 95. For teachers and geographical separation, see also: Barron, 'Parents, teachers and well-being', p. 140.

> And here is an important fact which people seem to realise; the answer, and remedy, to school discipline does not reside solely in the classroom or even in the school, because its causes are partly controlled by extra-mural factors. The effective teacher tackles the problem on many fronts, but respects his limitations.[75]

Holden's advocacy of counselling was another response deriving from this view of landscape and class as limiting factors. He argued that child-centred education was 'confused', 'originates in the minds of educational theorists far removed from the practical and worrying exigencies of the class-room' and offered inadequate preparation for the 'tougher areas of our largest towns and cities, in which fear, confusion and violence are real enough' in the classroom.[76] Crucial to these positions is not simply the idea of 'distance' from reality between the teaching profession and its theoreticians but the corollary notion that the 'real' can only be grounded in working-class experiences and landscapes, overlain with masculine ideals.

This approach emphasised experience over theory, and expressed hostility towards more 'feminised' forms of theorising. Farley's guide to discipline clearly demonstrates a recognition of adolescence as a psychological and physiological stage of development, but this was embedded in a landscape of geographical and sociological concerns ('socially depressed industrial areas') rather than a psychological frame. Likewise, the titular categorisation of 'difficult' adolescent, replete with its enclosing and distancing quotation marks, represents a mode of classification very different from the psychological preoccupation with the spectrum of 'normality/abnormality' and 'adjustment/maladjustment'. Here it was a specifically age-based category, imbued with the sociological considerations of

[75] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 31.

[76] Holden, *Teachers as Counsellors*, p. 97.

living in an 'industrial' landscape, which carried implications for the teacher. 'In pre-war days', he noted bluntly, 'when the school leaving age was fourteen and the Welfare State was much less ubiquitous, pupils left school as children: to-day they leave as adolescents'.[77] The age-based category of the 'adolescent', meanwhile, remained unexcavated. As far as Farley was concerned, adolescence was a natural and universal phase; it was merely the social environment which gave it a specific meaning, power and menace. The social landscape and its exigencies gave reality to adolescence. The social structures of British society appeared more tangible for Farley and Holden, but this was articulated through a gendered framework of male experience and observation without overt theorisation: a literal thick description.

(4.4) 'Thick description' and the literary output of Blishen and Croft: between fact and fiction

The tradition of ethnographic observation practised by teachers was a continuation of one inherited from the mid-nineteenth century and the crusading, reformist journalism – and 'slumming' – of W. T. Stead and Henry Mayhew.[78] This was later refined through a greater reliance on statistics, as well as the more empirical approaches of Booth, Rowntree and the Webbs.[79] As we saw in an earlier section, their methods and themes enjoyed a continued relevancy for Kerr, Mays, Paneth and Berg – writing produced across a period of nearly thirty years. Teachers, too, participated in this trend. Wright has noted the use of the log-book to

[77] Farley, *Secondary Modern Discipline*, p. 67.

[78] Koven, *Slumming*.

[79] Eileen Janes Yeo, 'The social survey in social perspective', in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales and Kathryn Kish Sklar (eds), *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 49-65.

offer descriptions of 'problem families' at the beginning of the century.[80] The 'local discourses concerning slums', she argues, were often found at the juncture of these logs and the wider culture; not least local newspapers and their salacious descriptions of visits to the slums.[81] In this, the attitudes towards the children were themselves 'ambivalent', governed by descriptions of living conditions and visceral reactions.[82] The persistence of such approaches is evidenced by the following entry in a Birmingham girls' school log-book in 1947, which referred to one teacher being 'out … visiting homes in the district – Some made her feel quite ill'.[83]

What is more remarkable, however, is to see these social observation methods, or echoes of them, also present in texts which are not non-fiction concerned with exposing a 'true' – if still rhetorically constructed – vision of reality. Their appearance in novels of what Tisdall classifies as a 'blackboard jungle' genre during the 1950s provide an interesting precursor to the writings of Farley which treat sociological methodology as an almost intuitive component of the teacher's eye on his environment. In the process, they highlight the broader circulation of concern about the urban environment's effects on children and adolescents in post-war Britain. The two novels discussed in this section, published a year apart, exemplify this genre. They are of interest less for their loose, and frequently non-existent, plots than for their intersections with the idea of real environments. With the exception of Tisdall, these texts and their gendered components have been largely ignored by historians.[84] Yet they offer a productive perspective on male teaching identities, and

[80] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community', p. 164.

[81] Wright, 'The work of teachers', p. 735-737.

[82] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community', p. 163.

[83] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 14 November 1947.

[84] Tisdall, '"Inside the blackboard jungle"'.

demonstrate that male teachers, too, practised reflective observation on their condition as a teacher. Revealingly, however, men made discipline and the working-class landscape central to their 'blackboard jungle' narratives.

Two of the most prominent examples of these – *The Roaring Boys* (subtitled *A Schoolmaster's Agony*) and *Spare the Rod* – were written by secondary-modern teachers Edward Blishen (1920-1996) and Michael Croft (1922-1986), respectively. Both writers came from a broadly progressive, anti-corporal punishment, stance. While this makes them unrepresentative of broader teaching opinion in one sense, it is worth noting that the existence of two novels fictionalising the struggles of teachers in areas of high deprivation is itself unusual and the commonalities between the two works in terms of form, structure and even plot reflect, I argue, a representative current of experience and attitude. Indeed, their emphasis on forming bonds with pupils would have placed them easily alongside Farley or Holden. Following the relations of a teacher with his pupils over one or several academic years, the novels follow the spaces and career trajectories of a masculinity which hides a deeper story of professional identity and development.

Spare the Rod has the most developed plot of the two novels. It follows the work of John, a former navy officer and university graduate, in a school somewhere in the north of England. Gradually winning the tough pupils' confidences, he is eventually forced to resign after an escalated row with a colleague over whether a violent pupil, whose side John takes, should be disciplined. In the *Roaring Boys*, the plot is looser. Instead, the unnamed narrator is followed through four years of experience at a North London school, with particular cases of indiscipline employed almost like ethnographic case-studies, which I argue provides the most apposite framework for understanding its eccentricities.

For Tisdall, these novels are a form of 'self-narrative', to be triangulated with other ways of accessing their authors' thoughts and wider currents of pessimism in the profession at the time concerning wages.[85] Although in agreement with this analysis, I also assert that the ethnographic element needs to be considered more fully in these works. Unlike Tisdall, I focus on a disciplinary ethnographic dimension as central to the construction of both narratives. It is worth noting in this regard that the subtitle of Blishen's *Roaring Boys* can be read in a double sense: agony simultaneously denoting his painful introduction to teaching alongside classical allusions to the idea of a tortured personal struggle for identity and transformation. In this work, for example, the protagonist is described from the novel's first page as an 'emergency training college' teacher, which he expects to resonate in the reader's mind.[86] The hero in *Spare the Rod* is a former sailor, a fact which, along with Farley's wartime dedication and warrior metaphors, reminds us of the importance of war as a commonality of mid-century masculine experience. The use of the training college in *Roaring Boys* likewise establishes its narrator in opposition to his colleagues by marking out his membership of a specific route into teaching associated with ex-armed forces men (even if Blishen's own status as a conscientious objector would have challenged this trend). This was a period in which, as one of the books notes, 'Teachers were restless, still engaged in a post-war effort to settle down and find a place'.[87] Blishen certainly was, judging by his thinly-fictionalised account of the emergency training schemes in another of his books.[88]

[85] Ibid., pp. 492, 497.

[86] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 1.

[87] Ibid., p. 86.

[88] Edward Blishen, *A Nest of Teachers* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980).

The gendered aspect of the worldview inculcated by this training cannot be underestimated. At the co-educational school in *Spare the Rod*, the college-educated female teacher 'could not reach the children because she was unacquainted with their world'.[89] The protagonist notes the older teachers' criticism of 'smart College ideas' and also reflects on how the 'college course' on discipline 'had failed to help' many new entrants to the profession.[90] The training scheme is not mentioned in detail in either book, and whereas for Croft *Spare the Rod* was to be a brief literary foray, Blishen's *Roaring Boys* was the first of a series of autobiographical and semi-autobiographical texts that he was to publish between 1954 and his death in 1996.[91] These were not, however, published in chronological order. Perhaps it is reading too much into his life to suggest that the experience of a schoolteacher recounted in *Roaring Boys* and its sequel, *This Right Soft Lot* (1969), constituted the lynch-pin of his life around which other texts would fall, but it is possible to infer this tentatively from what its arrival at a particular moment in the mid-1950s reveals about its author's sense of self at that moment.[92]

Croft's and Blishen's responses to a masculinised professional identity inflect both their understandings of the adolescent boys with whom they come into contact and help to structure the texts themselves, in terms of *Spare the Rod* 's narrative arc and *Roaring Boys*' case-studies. This transforms their writing into examples of 'thick description' and is one of several common tropes. Firstly, both texts begin with the new recruit entering their schools

[89] Croft, *Spare the Rod*, p. 99.

[90] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, pp. 79, 98.

[91] In order of publication these are: *Roaring Boys* [1955]; *This Right Soft Lot* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969); *A Cack-Handed War* [1972]; *Sorry, Dad* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978); *A Nest of Teachers* [1980]; *The Outside Contributor* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986); and *The Disturbance Fee* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988).

[92] Blishen, *This Right Soft Lot*.

for the first time and meeting the respective headmasters, who are both presented as sympathetic but largely ineffective figures. Secondly, both somehow eschew traditional devices of plot. This is significant because reviews in the teaching press tended to prefer Blishen's effort to that of Croft, mostly feeling that the characters were more believable.[93] This is despite the fact that Croft's is the only one which can be read as a novel, if a highly meandering one, that eventually reaches the traditional climactic standoff demanded by literary form. Blishen, by contrast, simply offers a series of vignettes as the school years recede, gradually populating his classes with individual pupils who are brought to readers' attention; adolescents who enter the ethnographic gaze and then depart. This offers a series of reflections and thick descriptions of causes and effects in the classroom relationship. The observational nature is reflected by the fact that the book is written as a first-person account and the narrator is never named, unlike Croft's third-person persona of 'John' (although this was one of his names). Moreover, despite the fact that Blishen was married with a child at this time (as he recounts in his later description of life in the emergency training college), this private life makes no intrusion whatsoever into the narrative of *Roaring Boys*, making its narrative voice a detached one with a limited autobiographical background; a participant observer in the classroom environment. The divide between this book and *A Nest of Teachers* (which despite being published twenty-five years later deals with the period in Blishen's life immediately preceding *Roaring Boys*) in terms of the extent to which its author's private life enters the narrative could not be starker, and suggests that the earlier book was intended to do something different from a straightforward autobiography.

Indeed, both texts play with their own status on the boundary of fiction. Both *Spare the Rod* and *Roaring Boys* feature authors' notes at the beginning, justifying the sensational

[93] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 499.

aspects of the plot and reflecting on how the books, ostensibly works of fiction, relate to some idea of facticity in representations of the adolescent. In *Spare the Rod*, Croft notes that Worrell Street is an 'imaginary school', but continues: '[c]onditions such as those I have described, although not universal in reality, are nonetheless sufficiently prevalent in certain districts to justify the picture I have given'.[94] Blishen invoked his experience of having 'taught in several secondary modern schools' and noting that '[i]f my story is not literally true, however, I have tried to make it true in a wider sense'.[95] The language is impenetrably ambivalent, leaving the reader (or historian) unclear about the facticity of the piece. In *This Right Soft Lot*, this was taken further, with Blishen feeling that:

> I should be unhappy if anyone believed that Stonehill Street was a complete invention. Wherever a district is socially and educationally dejected and unattractive to teachers, some of the schools are likely to have touches of Stonehill Street about them […] A combination of gross social and educational inequities continues to mould, in many places, children much like those I describe, who, having been denied pleasant housing and a tolerable general environment, are then cheated of their right to reasonable schooling.[96]

He concludes by expressing the hope that the book 'might underline what has elsewhere been expressed in a more general form'.[97] This later example is noteworthy for the creep of a more explicitly sociological language (his vague description of 'elsewhere … expressed') into its evocation of landscape – one that was more acknowledging of its author's status as an observer – and for its referencing in passing of a burgeoning literature published in the

[94] Croft, *Spare the Rod*, unpaginated author's note.

[95] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, unpaginated author's note.

[96] Blishen, *This Right Soft Lot*, pp. 9-10.

[97] Ibid., p. 10.

fourteen-year intervening period. The overwhelming sense is of contributing a 'micro' level of ethnographic detail to complement a broader social narrative.

As with Farley and Holden's texts, the social landscape is defined by the distance it creates between teacher and taught. In *Spare the Rod*, John reflects on feeling 'as blind in [the children's] midst as a man would be who'd been flung into a colony of Martians'.[98] They are thought of as 'products of a hard, stunting environment'.[99] In *Roaring Boys,* the divide between the material and cultural worlds of staff and pupils is rendered through a similar appeal to the idea of otherworldliness. '[I]n Stonehill Street two worlds clashed', Blishen writes, and the 'The staff in their neat suiting, even in their old sports jackets and flannels, looked like visitors from another world'.[100] How the boys are themselves presented returns to the trope of the case-study. Examples of specific boys sustain the narrative of both books (even more so in Blishen's book which lacks even the climactic stand-off between a teacher and a specific pupil found in *Spare the Rod*). Tisdall regards most of his characters as 'caricatures'.[101] While these boys certainly represent unflattering types. and reflect the social methodology concern for producing composite personalities based on characteristics common to specific groups, I would suggest that their 'caricatural' element is more part of their authors' ethnographic devices, conscious or otherwise. The nature of these case-studies, integrated within the novel as stories within the broader flow of the narrative, further blurs the boundaries of fact and fiction.

[98] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 6.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., p. 42.

[101] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 499.

These aspects feed into the key part of both stories, which are the confidences offered up by the boys to the protagonists through the force of the latter's personalities alone.[102] The voluntary nature of these exchanges emphasises the power of the teachers and their ethnographical dimensions prefigure both Holden's and Farley's approaches. The development of such methods, which Farley was to attempt to analyse as a pedagogical method in its own right six years after the last of these two novels was published, was both masculine and centred on an intuitive social method which involved coming to understand adolescent, working-class boys through the prism of their urban landscape. Once again, the teacher-protagonist's journey of development is one of unearthing, by accident, through confidences and discussion of pupils' home lives, the social background to their problems and consequently arrive a more socially-rounded vision of their problems. The narrative voice of *Roaring Boys* eventually realises that 'the black wickedness' of one boy's 'eyes was that of the animal that's spent its life being cornered'.[103] Two other boys are, respectively, the consequence of an upbringing that has left one with the 'lack of anything to lose' and the other 'the legacy of a long period of social neglect'.[104] Yet another boy exemplifies the social structure itself; a 'reluctance to participate actively in life'.[105] The process of adolescence as a bodily change is directly related to social awareness in these narratives. Growing up as 'normally naïve and eager boys', they became 'not simply bigger and more awkward, but sulky, vicious, less like boys than ruined men. The street corner had seized them. The adult life of the district had closed in'.[106] In a further example, boys are described as being

[102] Croft, *Spare the Rod*, p. 178.

[103] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, pp. 2, 82-83.

[104] Ibid., pp. 56, 254.

[105] Ibid., p. 59.

[106] Ibid., p. 174.

'[b]lown by the summer holiday past childhood into big-limbed swaggering youth'.[107] This occurred in third year, by which time most leisure periods were 'spent in the street'.[108]

The 'district', as a landscape and a site of leisure, quite literally envelops and encloses the adolescent as he approaches maturity. Yet the streets are introduced to the reader only gradually, and, with the exception of a few examples where the descriptions of poverty are transposed into the voice of the boys in the form of dialogue, are largely through the perspective of the teacher-protagonists.[109] The most striking commonality here – as with the social description of Berg and Paneth discussed earlier – lies in the form that this takes: the narrator/observer walking through the landscape in question. In both novels this event only occurs towards the end or climax of the book. Finally wishing to take stock of life in the district, the protagonists walk among the houses offering the pretext for social comment. In *Spare the Rod*, this occurs as follows:

> He walked down Worrell Street and turned briskly along the narrow path that bordered the curvy stretch of river. On the other side of the path stood a long row of uniform houses, with gloomy back-yards and grime-coloured walls.

Though some showed 'a brave patch of colour here and there … they all seemed alike to John in their barren, loathsome significance'.[110] There are some more romantic images here, too, such as when John 'could not help staring at the ugly dwellings and brooding on the life within them' and thought of 'the good family warmth of the well-kept kitchen and the fire in

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[107] Ibid., p. 113.

[108] Ibid., p. 177.

[109] Croft, *Spare the Rod*, p. 127.

[110] Ibid., p. 161.

the polished grate, the warmth of old armchairs, and socks laid out to be darned, the smell of plain cooking'.[111] Such examples highlight the limitations of Limond's critique of supposedly 'airy anthropological confidence'.[112] Rather, as in Brooke's literary example, the observer's gaze is more complex: something emphasised by the fact that both Blishen and Croft were working-class grammar-school boys, familiar with the forms of the landscape but rendered outsiders by their having left it.

In *Roaring Boys*, too, the emphasis is on the teacher-narrator's movement through the environment as an outside observer: 'I hurried past the terraces of little battered grey houses, each with its half-inch of garden (no flowers, only motor-bikes, barrows and prams)', and 'past the bomb sites and the pre-fabs to the school gate. A child was kicking a tin can along the gutter'.[113] Those streets, meanwhile, 'were the playgrounds, full of noisy boys and girls, loud with cackles, shouts, the vocal equivalents of the hideous houses'.[114] Place here is both abstract and specific, composite sites which are designed to illustrate the ways that environment impinges on the educational art of possible. Blishen's experiences were actually from a school in Holloway Road, in the Finsbury area of north London.[115] The central feature of the books, however, is the 'drab northern classroom' itself, and its very anonymity. The views offered of the world outside the school are tantalising glimpses of extramural life.[116]

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[111] Ibid., p. 162.

[112] Limond, 'Risinghill and the ecology of fear', p. 168.

[113] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 182.

[114] Ibid., p. 147.

[115] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 494.

[116] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 255.

For male teachers, the experience of schooling and its relationship to the adolescent's landscape seems to have been tinged with a sense of the autobiographical visible in works that were both intended to be factual and informative (Farley) and those offering a heroic account of the awakening of professional ability and consciousness (Blishen and Croft). This usage of landscape foregrounded their abilities to relate the adolescent to his environment and employ this to account for behaviour. But the landscape, as something in which they themselves moved, was equally central to these teachers' own self-narratives, an important fulcrum within their autobiographies. Both men were also transient social observers of adolescence. Blishen left teaching to become a writer, a producer for the BBC and also an advocate and campaigner for 'progressive' education, eventually publishing *The School That I'd Like* (1969) which featured extracts from children's own writings about their ideal schools.[117] Croft, meanwhile, left teaching and eventually became founder and director of the National Youth Theatre.[118] Through such ethnographic devices, the authors developed a social-scientific conception of adolescence that succeeded because it did not have the same difficulties in identifying social factors as the psychological texts examined in Chapter Three.

(4.5) Conclusion

The American literary critic John Neubauer wrote in his 1992 survey of adolescence in the *fin-de-siècle*, that if '[t]he garden is the mythic habitat of the child … the spaces of the adolescent who has outgrown the paradise of childhood' is the 'abandoned urban plot'.[119] In

[117] Edward Blishen (ed), *The School That I'd Like* (London: Harmondsworth, 1969).

[118] '(John) Michael Croft (1922-1986)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography On-Line*, 23 September 2004. Accessed at http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-39928?rskey=hb5PHO&result=1 on 10 April 2018.

[119] Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 64-66.

twentieth-century Britain, that association of the adolescent with the urban landscape was connected to how male teachers positioned themselves in relation to the landscape of the adolescent. For teachers who wrote about their experiences – in a variety of forms – the classroom was situated firmly within its local landscape, and their masculine identities were integral to how they sought to reach out to their pupils in a pedagogy of discipline. This was not 'progressive' in the institutionalised sense of the term, but it did seek to evoke new ways of conceiving the place of the classroom in the wider community and, through this, ways of appreciating the motivations behind adolescent behaviour. Practices of observation and ethnography were integral to this, and this chapter has analysed the role of the methodologies drawn from the varied social sciences, and not least teachers' use of thick description, to set up alternative behavioural explanations against psychological narratives. These approaches saw the social environment become part of Tisdall's 'limiting' trend for childhood and adolescence in this period. The NFER's study into discipline in schools inserted such approaches into a pedagogy of discipline when it suggested that 'children's misbehaviour is directly related to the type of control to which they are subjected' and that these were often determined by 'the influence of home and neighbourhood conditions'.[120]

In the ethnographic context, teachers were archetypal participant-observers: simultaneously detached outsiders from the environment and involved professionally and personally in understandings of discipline. Such approaches, like those of Holden, Farley and Partridge, testify to the importance of social science research methodologies, and especially the case-study and creation of ideal types, for teachers in making sense of their schools and environments. The language and focus on landscape also served as surrogate strategies for thinking both about the persistence of class structures in an affluent society and, through the

[120] NFER, *A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools*, p. 26.

problematisation of this latter, assessing the legacy of the welfare state. For the novelist teachers, Blishen and Croft, the ethnographic was a literary device which allowed many of the similar themes to be treated but through a veneer of ambivalence about its factual accuracy and in the context of its audience's literary suspension of disbelief. These are all suggestive of a pedagogy of discipline from below that emerged in parallel to the developments considered in the previous chapter; ones which opened up a space for teachers to act as observers of the classroom, the school and world around them. The 1960s, however, witnessed a renewed focus on violence and aggression in the classroom. This, I argue in the next chapter, propelled teachers and their unions towards the territory of the *measurable*, as much as the purely descriptive.

CHAPTER 5:

RoSLA, STATISTICAL MEASUREMENT, AND ANXIETIES ABOUT ADOLESCENCE IN 1970s BRITAIN

Historians of science have viewed the emergence of statistics and their institutionalisation in the nineteenth century as a parallel development to liberalism, concerned with ensuring governmental efficiency. But their usage here is dual; they simultaneously justify multiple modes of action and lend a scientific, objective appearance to policy and opinion.[1] Twentieth-century developments point even more towards a Foucauldian model: the statistical eye, in the form of opinion polls or the social survey, offers a key tool in the creation of the modern, rational state and the emergence of new modes of subjectivity and measurable opinion.[2] Meanwhile, Rose notes how numbers, and their representation in graphs and tables, progressively displace the textual and descriptive elements of scientific enquiry.[3] This chapter contends that, as the 1960s gave way to the 1970s, the number of statistical attempts to measure adolescent behaviour increased and that quantitative analysis became one of Brickell's '[w]ays of knowing young people' which 'parallel the social construction of youth

[1] Theodore Porter, 'Medical quantification: science, regulation, and the State', in Gerald Jorland, Annick Opinal and George Weisz (eds), *Body Counts: medical quantification in historical and sociological perspective* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), pp. 395-396.

[2] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 189-192; Laura Dumond Beers, 'Whose opinion? Changing attitudes towards opinion polling in British politics, 1937-1964', *Twentieth Century British History*, 17:2 (2006), pp. 177-205.

[3] Rose, *Governing the Soul*, p. 137.

itself'.[4] Further, I suggest, in a theme that I shall develop in the subsequent chapter, that this marked the beginning of growing governmental approach to classroom discipline based on the analysis of the school as a system. However, this was no means total, nor were the statistics necessarily amenable to absolute power on the part of those who collected and then publicised them. Indeed, methodologies were frequently critiqued and some actors preferred to continue with older community, landscape models which became more inflected with social deprivationist, 'problem family' discourses as the century progressed.[5]

Brickell's example of governmentality, for instance, is the case file, but he categorises this simultaneously as an individuated and holistic type of data.[6] Grosvenor and Myers, in discussing Birmingham's educational census, likewise refer to the creation of an expanding 'surveillant assemblage' over the course of the twentieth century, with the documents themselves tabulating and gathering information about a range of aspects of the pupils' lives.[7] Both offer examples of how data, and especially examples of administrative thick and thin description created impressions of behaviour. In this chapter, by contrast, I seek to explore what happened during a period when the case file was overshadowed by an effort to know and understand school discipline through another technology of government: the quantitative lens. The 'empirical' approach had long been a staple of the social sciences in Britain and America, and despite criticism from radical practitioners such as C. Wright Mills, it still

[4] Brickell, 'On the case of youth', pp. 52-53.

[5] Welshman, 'In search of the "problem family"'; idem, *Underclass*, pp. 79-97.

[6] Brickell, 'On the case of youth', p. 63.

[7] Ian Grosvenor, '"All the names"' : LEAs and the making of pupil and community identities', *Oxford Review of Education*, 28:2&3 (2002), pp. 299-310; Grosvenor and Myers, 'Progressivism, control and correction', p. 237.

retained a certain power as an analytical force.[8] There were several initiatives to measure adolescent behaviour over the course of twentieth-century Britain, but the 1970s mark a particularly active moment when this type of analysis was undertaken by central government, local authorities and teaching unions. All of these shared a common objective to picture an authentic and 'true' extent of what was unquestioningly considered a growing 'problem'.

The so-called Raising of the School Leaving Age to sixteen (variously abbreviated to RoSLA, ROSLA or RSLA in official documents) – finally initiated, following several delays, in September 1973 – provided a renewed focal point for concern about discipline. If earlier debates about adolescent behaviour – and particularly psychological discussions around the category of 'aggression' – had coalesced around issues of definition, during this period it became recentred on the measurement of the adolescent's capacity for violence and damage to property. The difficulties faced by the various groups that attempted to promote and use these quantitative methodologies point to some of the limitations of the statistical approach. Primarily, it was recognised that issues related to behaviour were connected to social change. But the 1970s also witnessed the emergence of ideas which positioned the school itself as central to stimulating certain behaviours through systems theory. I will discuss this aspect of the 1970s and 1980s changes in the following chapter. This chapter, meanwhile, concentrates on RoSLA as a key factor in focalising attention on the statistical dimension, and on the early-1970s moment as one of transition in attitudes towards adolescence. The prospect of an expanded adolescent population, composed of reluctant pupils who would rather be engaging in economic activity, appears to have been a concern of several teaching unions and these were, I argue, reinforced at the local level. In Brighton, such anxieties culminated in a 1975

[8] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2000 [1959]), pp. 50-75.

investigative report produced by the local authority into incidents of violence and indiscipline in schools. But many other groups were involved in gathering and analysing statistics: from the DES (which commissioned its own national survey, similar to the Brighton one, in 1976) to teaching unions (such as the NAS). Debates circulated around the relative merits of this approach, but all of these studies were united by an effort to use numerical data to validate perceptions about the contemporary state of discipline. I wish to posit these methods as a turning away from the ethnographic approaches noted in the previous chapter, although I note that especially in local studies such as Brighton, the older forms of observation could filter through alongside them. The quantitative method, for all that it marked a different, governmental approach, merely signalled the continuing influence of the wider social sciences into the 1970s.

This chapter is organised around a series of inter-linked, and broadly chronologically ordered, case-studies. In the first section, I examine how concerns over school discipline, which had declined from professional and public consciousness since the height of the 'blackboard jungle', re-emerged following the government's decision to raise the school-leaving age in the wake of the Newsom Report.[9] While this was announced officially in 1963, the concerns of organisations such as the NUT and NAS only reached their apogee as the appointed day approached in the early 1970s. The next part analyses several responses to the resulting perception of increased aggression and indiscipline in the secondary school, through attempts to investigate and quantify the causes and extent of the problem. The difficulties for the surveyors – as unions, councils or government bodies – to define precisely what 'indiscipline' and 'violence' meant is reflective of a broader difficulty in comprehending the problem in the light of the social changes of this decade. Finally, I explore some of the

[9] *Half Our Future: a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)* (London: HMSO, 1963).

archival holdings from the LEA in Brighton to demonstrate how one effect of the survey was the validation of a 'problem family' discourse to discipline in schools and an attempt, perhaps never truly realised, to link schools together with the social-work and welfare services that were themselves undergoing profound changes at the time.[10]

(5.1) 'Ready in time': the 'RoSLA' adolescent

The headmistress of a secondary-modern girls' school in Brighton began the 1973 academic year with the usual notices in her log-book about reopening, staffing and organisation. This time, however, there was also an underlined, and on appearances anodyne, margin annotation which stated simply 'School Leaving Age Raised'.[11] There are many reasons why this could have been placed in the book, but the deliberate – almost ominous – marking out of a change is significant in any consideration of how RoSLA was perceived and how it helped to spur both longstanding and emergent anxieties about adolescents. A variety of agents saw RoSLA as an opportunity for new research and in-service training initiatives. This included the BBC whose *RoSLA and After* series (broadcast in 1972) featured an episode on 'Discipline'.[12] While much initial concern over RoSLA focused on practicalities and curricular content, the hidden and growing focus was behaviour, and how pedagogy might help to address it. Reflecting back from the mid-1970s, Ronald Cave, an educational administrator for

[10] *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services* (London: HMSO, 1969).

[11] ESRO, ESC 294/1/1, The Knoll County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 5 September 1973.

[12] The BBC produced and broadcast the series *ROSLA and After* during 1972, intended as an in-service training programme for teachers. An episode on 'Discipline' was broadcast on 17 October 1972, BBC One.

Cambridgeshire and co-editor of a volume on discipline, noted that '[d]uring the first year following the raising of the school leaving age it was almost impossible to open an educational periodical without reading alarming reports of increasing disruption in schools'.[13]

The background to RoSLA lay in the 1944 Education Act and the inter-war period. The 1944 Act had stipulated fifteen as the universal age at which compulsory schooling ended, but it also included a rider clause permitting the age to be increased to sixteen 'as soon as the Minister is satisfied that it has become practicable'.[14] This had the dual benefit, from the Ministry's point of view, of attenuating the partisan controversies of the earlier period and addressing the problem of restricted public finances in the post-war era.[15] These developments are significant because they indicate the role of the school in demarcating adolescence, and how that category often expanded to fit the boundaries imposed upon it. The leaving age bookended schooling, defined the adolescent's place within the wider social order, and demarcated a period in the life-cycle in which the local state could actively intervene in young people's lives. By 1963, it had become normalised for fifteen-year-olds to be in school and they were no longer the subject of earlier alarms around the 'blackboard jungle'. RoSLA threatened to expand the age upwards and bring a new, older adolescent cohort into the ambit of the school, reinforcing the 'problem' element of the previous upper cohort. Unlike earlier controversies over the leaving age, however, the debates of the late-1960s and early-1970s were targeted around the perceived shift in type, behaviour and attitude of the adolescent population itself. Such concern was, in turn, granted a heavily gendered dimension by the fact that, although there had been voluntary fifth-formers prior to

[13] Ronald G. Cave, 'Foreword', in Clive Jones-Davies and Ronald G. Cave (eds), *The Disruptive Pupil in the Secondary School* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1976), p. 6.

[14] Education Act 1944 (c.31), section 35.

[15] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, pp. 213-249.

the 1970s, these were often girls on 'commercial' and 'pre-nursing' courses rather than boys who had more opportunities for employment or vocational training upon leaving school. In this way, RoSLA and its concerns remained very much a question of male adolescents.

In the aftermath of the Newsom Report, the government announced its intention to introduce RoSLA at the start of the 1970-1971 academic year. However, the economy drives of the late-1960s saw the initial target delayed until 1972-1973. No sooner was the plan announced, than problems were being identified. The NAS, later to be openly concerned with the prospect of behavioural difficulties, was initially anxious about expenditure and resources. In a pamphlet entitled *Ready in Time?*, the organisation warned that, unless investments were made to ensure suitable accommodation, schools would not be able to take on the extra pupils in reasonable condition.[16] Such concerns were repeated in its recruitment materials and at its conference, which resolved to welcome the plan provided more resources and investment were forthcoming.[17]

It was in the direction of behaviour and discipline, however, that anxieties about RoSLA moved, and researchers responded in earnest by seeking to develop new pedagogies of discipline. The Schools Council, established in October 1964 to promote research into curricular and school organisation prior to RoSLA, 'decided, at its first meeting … that high priority should be given … to a programme of activity in preparation for the raising of the school leaving age'.[18] One working paper that emerged from this outlined an ambitious series

[16] National Association of Schoolmasters, *Ready in Time?: some observations on the raising of the school leaving age , with particular regard to the attitude of the National Association of Schoolmasters* (Hemel Hempstead: NAS, 1966).

[17] NAS, *Tomorrow's Schoolmaster: a guide to the policies and services of the National Association of Schoolmasters* (Hemel Hempstead: NAS, n.d. [*c*.1974]), pp. 10, 13.

[18] Schools Council, *Raising the School Leaving Age (Working Paper No. 2)* (London: HMSO, 1965), p. iii.

of inter-related research projects, including one to compare the influence of 'geographical area, socio-economic circumstances, scholastic aptitude, parental influence and personal qualities' to teachers' perspectives about RoSLA.[19] Most of the booklet was concerned with curricular changes, yet lurking behind this was the question of behaviour and how the school might keep the new fifth-formers on side through courses tailored to their needs and interests. Secondary education was defined, in a series of tropes that have already been examined, as a period when children developed 'self-awareness'. 'By the fifth year', however, 'their personal and mental maturity will make heavy demands of the teacher's understanding and knowledge' as educators sought to help 'pupils … to enter the world of ideas'.[20] This was significant, for it emphasised the adult nature of the adolescent, what the report itself termed their 'near-adult awareness' which meant that they did not respond positively to being 'demoted to the status of children'.[21] The pedagogy of discipline post-RoSLA was clear: adolescents needed to be treated with greater maturity, and a more congenial approach, which would be reciprocated.

Teaching unions likewise increasingly turned to the subtext of behaviour in their RoSLA discussions. Like the NAS, the 1965 annual general meeting of the AAM passed several RoSLA-related resolutions. These urged greater investment to be materially ready to accommodate a new school cohort, but equally declared, in revealing language, that 'all change in re-organisation should be organic and not cataclysmic'.[22] The AAM also outlined specific policies for dealing with poor discipline post-RoSLA, including a 1974 resolution in

[19] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[20] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[21] Ibid., p. 22.

[22] Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, (MRC), MSS.59/4/1/28, AAM papers, Conference Report for 1965, resolutions.

favour of special 'units for disturbed children' to be 'staffed by teachers with special training for this work' and, in 1977, the need to identify 'effective sanctions and forms of discipline to deal with pupils who are disturbed, disruptive, noisy, destructive and even violent'.[23] Such pessimistic attitudes were reflective of a broader mood across teaching, sociology and psychology that there had been an increase in violence as a social phenomenon, reflected, as we saw in Chapter Three, in Agatha Bowley's 1974 volume, *Children at Risk*.[24]

These concerns prompted institutional responses. As the appointed day approached, the NAS held a special conference in Birmingham in December 1971 on the topic of 'management, organisation and discipline'.[25] This was symptomatic of a professional concern that the opinions and voices of teachers were not being respected, or even sought. In this sense, the conference's concern with 'authority' can be read in multiple ways. 'The concept of authority runs through the speeches. […] When the authority of the school is undermined the school society suffers', claimed the introductory paper, placing the teacher's own professional authority together with the general authority of the school. Crucially, however, the unique threats posed by adolescents in the school were also related outwards, to society at large, such that '[t]he opposition of teenagers to authority is not a result of what happens in schools. It is more an expression of ideas imposed upon them in the society outside school'.[26] This marked an effort to reappraise the vision of authority, a pedagogy of discipline founded on inculcating healthy (and, in a more explicitly gendered formulation, masculine) citizenship

[23] MRC, MSS.59/4/1/32, AAM papers, Conferences Reports for 1973 and 1974, resolutions; MRC, MSS.59/4/1/34, AAM papers, Conference Report for 1977, resolutions.

[24] Bowley, *Children at Risk*, p. 44.

[25] R. B. Cocking, 'Introduction', in NAS, *Special Report: Management, Organisation and Discipline* (Hemel Hempstead: NAS, 1972), p. 1.

[26] Ibid., p. 2.

and shared social norms in a more frightening and seemingly violent world. Terry Casey, the NAS's general secretary, asserted in his contribution to the conference proceedings that 'school violence' had undergone a 'qualitative' change in recent years which was characterised by a new 'attitude' on the part 'of the aggressor'.[27] Violence did not need to be physical to be dangerous: 'To destroy a teacher's lesson by mindless "taking the mickey" is just as vandalistic as destroying the school WC. To insult a woman teacher or a man for that matter with a foul expression is as much part of violence as a blow on the face'.[28] As one headteacher reflected in 1976, these new attitudes were connected to more wistful nostalgia for an apparently simpler age of disciplinary problems. '[T]here was a certain chivalry in these proceedings [i.e: poor behaviour and its disciplining] twenty-five years ago', he wrote, whereas 'today's disruption has rawer and more intense connotations'.[29] This reflected a shift in perceptions of violence, away from the romanticised quality of Blishen, and towards one characterised by a lower tolerance towards aggressive behaviour as a social phenomenon.

Teachers' views were indicative of changing social attitudes towards youth more generally, and of their role in and out of the school. These are worth recalling as this chapter turns to the quantitative approaches undertaken by various bodies. The statistical exploration of behaviour provided one way of attempting to make these qualitative and intangible changes – in society and in the adolescents themselves – more comprehensible. It was equally a tool for stimulating public and media interest in the issues. Yet despite the assertion that the change, always confusing and unspecified, was *qualitative* and hard to grasp, the call was

[27] Terry Casey, 'Authority and discipline', in NAS, *Special Report: Management, Organisation and Discipline* (Hemel Hempstead: NAS, 1972), p. 36, 51-56.

[28] Ibid., p. 36.

[29] Bernard Baxter, 'Tackling the disruptive pupil', in Clive Jones-Davies and Ronald G. Cave (eds), *The Disruptive Pupil in the Secondary School* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1976), p. 69.

always for efforts to measure it *quantitatively*, subjecting it to statistical analysis. Such tensions within the motivations for the approach underlay problems in defining precisely what the 'problem' in school discipline posed by RoSLA was. But it also, conversely, gave such initiatives a sense of urgency. In other words, the perception of a difference in kind precipitated and drove the efforts to analyse the difference in degree.

(5.2) Measuring violence

The NUT had led an effort to quantify the extent of indiscipline at the height of the 'blackboard jungle' anxieties in 1955, as Jackson has noted.[30] This earlier example is instructive, since it had exactly the opposite function to that of the later studies. Its explicit aim was to counteract media attention on a handful of exceptional cases by showing how infrequent school-based violence actually was.[31] This shift in purpose – almost an inversion – between the earlier and later studies marks a substantial change in unions' use of statistical evidence, particularly as regards relations with the print media. Yet the 1956 report did succeed in creating something similar to the efforts of later researchers: real and imagined geographies of disciplinary problems and their extents, characterising areas and basing their assessments on returns from local voices. In this way, even ostensibly national impressions were constructed from a composite of local interest and the older landscapes. For unions, local branches were the primary source of information which could be collated and analysed, although this often came from small and unrepresentative samples and tended to be seen as too anecdotal. The DES had a powerful network of LEAs, but once again, the local responses caused confusion with their focus on the exceptional at the expense of the statistically sound

[30] Jackson, *Policing Youth*, pp. 88-89.

[31] Ibid.

or normal. Lastly, in the local landscape itself, relations between area administrators and headteachers succeeded in eliciting information, but often opened wider debates beyond questions of discipline itself, as teachers related their problems to local deprivation and social change. In almost all of the examples (with the evident exception of Brighton), the local interacted with the national. It was arguably the failure of initiatives on the national level to appreciate the importance to local actors of their specific concerns and problems which caused the difficulties of interpretation and categorisation of which they complained.

(5.2.1) The NAS and problems of definition

The 1956 NUT initiative could not have been more different to the NAS effort fifteen years later. *Violence in Schools* (1972) was prepared by the psychologist L.F. Lowenstein (1928-2016). Lowenstein was a former German refugee who was working, at the time, as chief educational psychologist to the Hampshire LEA. Interested in behaviour, it is clear that the undertaking of this study came with his own motivations, particularly as he had a marked interest in adolescent behaviour problems and sought to provide residential treatment in his own authority area.[32] Casey's foreword to the resulting pamphlet praised the psychologist for his offer to help break the 'conspiracy of silence' over what he provocatively termed 'the extent of this malignant social growth'.[33] The emphasis on 'extent' is significant because it indicates the powerful role of the quantitative in rendering the situation knowable. Yet it equally raises questions over how far Casey had, in fact, read the paper. For Lowenstein pointed to a terminological division which was to beset future efforts to analyse these

[32] Kathleen Lowenstein, '[Obituary] L. F. Lowenstein 1928-2016', *The BPS Psychologist On-Line*, July 2016. Accessed at https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/dr-l-f-lowenstein-1928-2016 on 15 May 2018.

[33] L. F. Lowenstein, *Violence in Schools* (Hemel Hempstead: NAS, 1972), p. 5.

problems from a statistical angle. Noting the difference between 'containable' and 'non-containable' violence, the psychologist asserted that both were difficult to classify because of their 'subjective' nature combined with teachers' professional desire 'to be seen as being capable of coping with problems'.[34] Indeed, he wrote that it was 'difficult to define the concept of violence to everyone's satisfaction. While for some teachers violence is sheer physical aggression … other teachers view violence as any form of disruption of formal … classroom teaching'.[35]

Based on a postal survey of the union's membership, this study confirmed the general trajectory of professional concern, finding the highest concentrations of reported violence in the predominantly working-class areas of South Lancashire, Cheshire, Durham and Tyneside, Northumberland, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Inner London. But it also identified more surprising locations such as Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Sussex and Surrey, which may well show how geographically differential response rates affected the quantification exercise.[36] Overlaying the local was a similar focus on age-distribution. The study identified the most common age reported for behaviour difficulties and violence as 13-14, with a total of 2637 reported incidents, followed by 15-16 (2188), and lastly 11-12 (1169). This produced a vision of adolescent aggression and misbehaviour based on a large peak situated around the point of pubertal onset nestled between two, slightly smaller, peaks immediately prior and succeeding it. The presence of the last age group, those most affected by RoSLA, led to the observation that '[a]s might be expected, many schools which reported

[34] Ibid., p. 7.

[35] Ibid., p. 8.

[36] Ibid., p. 9.

violence in the normal school [i.e: the part of compulsory attendance from 11-15] expressed negative attitudes towards raising the school leaving age'.[37]

That this study should take the form of an academic paper by a respected child psychologist is worthy of note. Using the scientific veneer of the psychological discipline as a tool for validating their concerns through scientific methods was clearly important to the NAS (as Casey's foreword makes clear). On the one hand, it indicates teachers' instrumental relationship towards psychological theory, supporting surveys when they validated their own professional concerns. For the psychologist, too, the quantitative approach came at a time of a gradual shift towards behaviourism, and the refusal to excavate local factors shows its generalising trend.[38] Yet the study's workings, particularly in sampling, were open to criticism. And its headline findings were diminished by the fact that the most prevalent type of violence identified by the survey were cases 'against property' rather than people.[39] What is most significant, though, and sets the scene for subsequent discussion, is how far this initiative merged the quantitative with an imagined national and local geography. The regions identified with the highest prevalence of 'violence', for instance, were the very working-class areas where concern over landscapes of adolescence had been longstanding. The national nature of the NAS study, by contrast, abstracted and flattened these and their specific local factors.

(5.2.2) The national survey

[37] Ibid., p. 13.

[38] See discussion in Chapter Six of this thesis.

[39] Lowenstein, *Violence in Schools*, p. 10.

The DES survey in many respects drew from its union and local predecessors but emerged through the Department wishing to be seen to respond to teachers' concerns about increased violence and indiscipline in the light of RoSLA. Its product was a 'consultative document'. Unlike the teacher surveys or its local counterparts, however, it created its geographies almost accidentally, and the civil servants responsible for collating the data seemed more conscious of their statistical methodology's limitations. As one official sardonically commented in a minute adjoined to a copy of her report, it was 'a most difficult paper to write without stepping heavily into teacher political questions or resource questions' but a 'possible virtue of its length is that it does tend to obscure'.[40] Her comment about 'political questions' emphasises the Department's own desire to validate solutions that could avoid becoming politically volatile. In this respect, the piece appears to have undergone a long and protracted drafting and redrafting process as its statistical tables were scoured for narratives and meanings that could be presented in a politically palatable way.[41]

The paper itself sought to downplay alarmist narratives. It noted that 'the general picture is not one of widespread violence or of any great increase in violent behaviour' – but warned that this was not the case everywhere. Revealingly, its author characterised its remit as 'the extent of violence in the community', placing the school within a broader context.[42] This was done with the aid of criminal statistics and indices of deprivation, against which 'the position in schools should be considered'.[43] The report's categorisations of 'violence', meanwhile, distinguished firstly between actual violence and threats, and subsequently

[40] TNA, ED 269/124, Minute, D. M. White to Thomas and Marshall, 6 February 1975, p. 1.

[41] See earlier versions and comments from civil servants in TNA, ED 269/30-31.

[42] TNA, ED 269/124, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools', p. 1.

[43] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

between what it termed ‘pupil to pupil’, ‘pupil to teacher’ and ‘parent to teacher’. It found that 7.8 per cent of secondary schools had reported incidents across all types but it noted that the rarity of incidents produced its own micro-geographies, with cases of all three types of violence concentrated in urban areas.[44]

Perhaps most revealing were the differences in the nature of responses between the actors consulted. LEAs, much closer to the environments of concern, tended to favour the family and community as causative factors, although ‘the nature of particular pupils’ was also noted.[45] This was also related to a perception of community breakdown, and the end of a rooted model of working-class life. The ‘mobility which breaks up the extended family’ they wrote, ‘prevents parents and children from establishing roots in a neighbourhood’.[46] This indicates the emergence of a narrative which served to vary and expand the list of causes, what the report itself referred to as the ‘multiplicity and inter-relationship of “deprivation factors”’.[47] LEAs most often placed these ‘factors’ within the context of the declining fixity of the landscape itself. The report noted that LEAs appeared to have the most difficulties in completing the section which asked for ‘Examples of types of misbehaviour’. ‘‘Very few authorities’, another draft of the survey noted, ‘attempted to describe’ the common category of ‘[r]owdyism stopping short of violence’; often through the example of ‘shouting or swearing’ or ‘throwing things’.[48] Many authorities’, it commented, ‘no doubt having found it difficult to choose a “typical” incident, referred to those which were plainly the more serious

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 8.

[46] Ibid., p. 9.

[47] Ibid., p. 9.

[48] TNA, ED 269/27, ‘Survey of Violence, Indiscipline and Vandalism in Schools’, p. 6.

or spectacular ones', such as the use of weapons or assault.[49] This confusion over terminology, and a turn towards qualitative thick description by local authorities, is indicative of a fundamental issue in defining the scope and form of the problem – one which seemed to resist both qualitative analysis and social description. In this respect, the survey drew comparisons with the NAS study in terms of findings, but did note some criticisms of Lowenstein's work.[50] 'It is not always easy to distinguish between the perception of the problem and the actuality', they noted, in a trope that would become common in analyses of this nature. Local variations were likewise felt to mask a shift in the nature of the problem; a change more difficult to identify in qualitative terms, which consisted in 'an increasing incidence of antagonism and dumb – or not so dumb – insolence, by persistent and calculated disruption of lessons and by aggressive behaviour'.[51] The form and motivations of the behaviour had therefore apparently altered, not merely its content, and this made efforts to know the true extent more difficult.

Teaching unions, on the other hand, were more strident in defending their viewpoints. They were very clear about what they wanted from the project, particularly when they were consulted about it in July 1975. The NAS, clearly wishing to promote their own initiative felt that there was 'no need for another national survey' and stressed the need to 'examine' the 'procedures by which authorities and schools record incidents' to encourage uniformity.[52] In short, the emphasis had to be on the development of appropriate disciplinary practices and

[49] Ibid., p. 4.

[50] TNA, ED 269/124, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools', p. 7.

[51] Ibid., p. 7.

[52] TNA, ED 269/31, Letter, J. D. Marsh to D. M. White, 3 July 1975, p. 1.

pedagogies. This sentiment was repeated in submissions by AMA and the AAM.[53] Others were more amenable to the idea of an enquiry but stressed the need for better definitions and records, not least the headteachers' organisations, the HMA and the AHM.[54] The NUT, meanwhile, preferred a study to identify what it termed the 'root causes'.[55] In keeping with trends examined in the previous chapter, the unions seemed most keen to stress the need for the report to be based on experience. The NAS called for 'authentic, un-doctored case examples' of 'good practice' in which 'honesty and realism must be the keynote'.[56] Their attitudes may have been provoked by the fear that discipline could reflect back upon the teaching profession itself. Difficulties which emerged, noted the report, could be related to 'the inexperience or poor class control of the teacher'.[57] These concerns over teachers' capacities to deal effectively with adolescents were reiterated in a DES memorandum on the subject, which noted that '"Disruption" is to some extent related to teachers' abilities to control classes and to handle individual children' and considered that '[a]ggression at a later stage may be the product of poor handling at an earlier one'.[58]

The concept of adolescence, too, played a forceful role in the national report and its reading of the statistics, but was made more symptomatic of social change. It was felt to be

[53] TNA, ED 269/31, Letter, D. W. Heather to D. M. White, 8 July 1975, pp. 1-2; idem, attachment to letter, Sheilagh D. Wood to D. M. White, 8 July 1975; idem, Letter, unsigned, undated, p. 2.

[54] TNA, ED 269/31, Memo, D. M. White to Mrs Tann, 2 September 1975; also idem, typescript, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools: note of a meeting held at Elizabeth House on 22 July 1975'.

[55] TNA, ED 269/31, Letter, Fred Jarvis to D. M. White, 18 July 1975.

[56] TNA, ED 269/31, Letter, J. D. Marsh to D. M. White, 3 July 1975, p. 2.

[57] TNA, ED 269/27, 'Survey of Violence, Indiscipline and Vandalism in Schools', p. 6.

[58] TNA, ED 269/28, D. M. White to Mr Booth, 4 July 1975, p. 1.

the stage at which children were most likely to demonstrate 'disturbed behaviour' or 'aggression and violence', although the report distanced itself from a view of this as a natural and inevitable component of the life-stage.[59] A section on 'Changes in the school adolescent population' reiterated the point that secondary-school pupils were perhaps the most likely to commit these types of incidents because they were larger and consequently more 'capable of being more forceful and threatening', with RoSLA's expansion of the age cohort having only 'aggravated the problem'.[60] Additionally, cases of pupil-to-pupil violence, where invoked, were explained as a normal part of development 'especially … amongst adolescent boys'.[61] This conception of adolescence was related to the social fact that 'major changes … have taken place in the adolescent population'.[62] The recent generation were singled out in the context of their being 'more self confident [*sic*], and less inclined to accept discipline or authority unquestioningly'.[63] A new image of an aggressive adolescent was therefore emerging through efforts to analyse the meaning behind the quantitative research; one less grounded in particular localities and more based on pubertal changes and the school as a system. RoSLA was positioned alongside these personal and social developments. The report compared this to a dual 'strain' as 'schools which have been going through a period of reorganisation', found themselves in an upheaval that mirrored changes in 'society itself'.[64] The two mutually exacerbated each other, and reflected contemporary self-perceptions of a

[59] TNA, ED 269/124, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools', p. 10.

[60] Ibid., p. 8.

[61] TNA, ED 269/27, 'Survey of Violence, Indiscipline and Vandalism in Schools', p. 5.

[62] TNA, ED 269/124, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools', p. 12.

[63] Ibid., p. 13.

[64] Ibid., p. 11.

time of crisis – or of 'strife and antagonisms' in the words of the report.[65] As one civil service memorandum noted, 'schools cannot expect to be isolated from current standards of behaviour'; rather, '[t]he question is … should the school regard itself as an agency of social reform looking forward to the achievement of the perfect society or should it simply be concerned with protecting itself as an institution'.[66]

At the same time, however, the interests of the unions highlight the ways that specifically local concerns could still intersect with national ones in the discussion of discipline. In addition to a copy of the 1975 Brighton survey (which I shall examine in the next section) being included in the files, the dossiers also featured pre-existing local studies by specific union branches and LEAs.[67] These all indicate that statistical research coupled with a discourse about the ambiguities of social change had become a popular mode for local actors to conceive and deal with the problem. These highlight the tailing off of a radical vision and towards an acceptance that schools may prefer a governmental system that preserved their current state – the 'protecting itself as an institution' – especially after a lengthy and politically contentious period of reorganisation.

Among examples of such local initiatives was one carried out by an NUT affiliate in Essex.[68] In secondary schools, it listed several of the changed behaviours as more 'smoking', swearing, 'drug taking' and 'proven cases of pilfering', in addition to physical aggression.[69]

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[65] Ibid., p. 11.

[66] TNA, ED 269/124, Memo, P. S. Litton to D. M. White, 14 February 1975.

[67] TNA, ED269/28, 'First report of the working party on behaviour problems shown by pupils of secondary school age in East Sussex schools', September 1974.

[68] TNA, ED 269/28, 'Disruptive Behaviour in Schools: the report of a working party of the Essex County Teachers' Association', March 1975.

[69] TNA, ED 269/28, 'Disruptive Behaviour in Schools: the report of a working party of the Essex County Teachers' Association', March 1975, unpaginated [p. 2].

But it also identified an 'increasing degree of permissiveness' and the greater presence of sex and violence in society.[70] Even so, it offered no numerical evidence to support these assertions, nor its claim that '[a]ssaults occasioning actual bodily harm, though still few in number, have increased'.[71] The Essex paper divided the causes of this behaviour into what it termed 'Personal factors' ('involving psychological and emotional disturbance'), 'family factors' (such as separation and exploitation 'emotionally or economically' by one parent),[72] and 'School factors' (such as high staff turnover, lack of experience, administration problems, and unpopular curricula).[73] Another typescript, seemingly a report from Norfolk, similarly began with an assertion about the extent of indiscipline before noting that '[s]chools have been made to accept more and more roles by a society in which parents in many cases seem to be apathetic and wish to hand over the parental role to structured bodies like schools'.[74] The Norfolk report seemed to centralise the role of the child guidance and psychological services much more strongly than others, including an appendix which sought to 'group' what it termed behavioural 'symptoms which may be indicative of disturbance'.[75] One specific at-risk group identified here were those '[a]dolescents who have not been prepared for the problems of transition to adult independence'.[76] Nottinghamshire also

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[70] Ibid. [pp. 3-4].

[71] Ibid. [p. 2].

[72] Ibid. [p. 2].

[73] Ibid. [pp. 3-4].

[74] TNA, ED 269/28, typescript, 'The problem of the disturbed child in the secondary school', n.d., p. 1.

[75] Ibid., pp. 10, 17, 25.

[76] Ibid., p. 28.

appears to have retained an interest in psychological models of behaviour. The Senior Assistant Director of Schools for the county, at a meeting with the DES recorded in the file, referred to the concern of the local 'teacher organisations' faced with growing numbers of 'disturbed and disturbing children'. However, this was tied to a particular local geography – that of the industrial, working-class East Midlands – in which the 'newer coalfields in the east' were 'where families from declining coalfields all over the country have settled, they have no roots and have brought problems of their own'.[77] The mobility of outsiders here threatened the local landscape, and marked a new type of mobile problem family.

The rural-urban division in these texts is particularly striking and indicates the persistence of concerns about mental health much longer in one than in the other. The NAS report stressed the role of national and local geographies in the divisions of incidents, but it also highlighted the limits of the quantitative. As Lowenstein concluded, violence may have been 'much larger than might have been anticipated from the occasional press report', but was 'difficult to ascribe any one cause'.[78] Meanwhile, the statistical tables compiled for the DES survey show that while the national average incidence of pupil-to-pupil violence and pupil-to-teacher violence were, respectively, 7.68 and 1.68 per 10,000 pupils, this rose to 9.22 and 1.36 in 'densely-populated areas' and 12.71 and 3.68 in so-called 'metropolitan areas'.[79] Types of areas remained as subjects of concern in these imagined local geographies, albeit removed from the actual local landscapes. The interplay between this national report and more localised ones is evidenced by the DES' inclusion of them in its files. These texts

[77] TNA, ED 269/28, typescript, 'Remedial treatment for disruptive pupils: note of a meeting held at Elizabeth House on 18 April 1975'.

[78] Lowenstein, *Violence in Schools*, p. 25.

[79] ED 269/27, 'Survey of Violence, Indiscipline and Vandalism in Schools', statistical tables 17-20.

clearly had a readership in the Department which treated them as acceptable research methods. At the local level, there were polyvalent discourses which disrupt the coherency of the whole, but these do point towards the desire to mobilise an apparently increasing perception of an increase in violent behaviour – with or without statistical support – to draw judgements about shifting social structures, the place of the landscape as a factor in adolescent development, and the merits of psychological analyses.

(5.2.3) Brighton

In Brighton, the 1975 report into cases of discipline and violence had several contexts. The area, like Birmingham, appears to have actively discussed the implications of RoSLA and its behavioural implications with headteachers. A RoSLA conference for Brighton headteachers in 1972 even included an agenda item on the '[i]ncreasing problems of indiscipline'.[80] Conferences and meetings for headteachers were a common feature in the wake of the Newsom Report and the announcement of RoSLA, and examples are recorded in both Birmingham and Brighton log-books.[81] However, reorganisation itself was not necessarily contentious from the teachers' perspective, at least in Brighton. The Brighton Teachers' Association, affiliated to the NUT, actively supported comprehensive reorganisation, in spite

[80] ESRO, R/E 2/68/79, Agenda for 'ROSLA Conference for Head Teachers', 17 March 1972.

[81] BAHPS, S 33/1, Boldmere Senior Boys' School, log book, 28-30 January 1965, 13 May 1966, 15-16 October 1971; BAHPS, S44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls' School, log book, 29 January 1971; BAHPS, S 224/1, Yardley Wood Secondary School, log book, 24 September 1971; ESRO, ESC 101/1/7, Davigdor County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 23 November 1964, 25 May 1965; ESRO, ESC 101/1/7, Davigdor County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 18 September 1970; ESRO, ESC 185/1/2, Patcham Fawcett School, log book, 3 December 1971.

of entrenched opposition by some parents to the closure of the town's grammar schools.[82] But there are hints of tensions, most notably concerns with the referrals process for children and adolescents judged to be difficult. At least one headteacher recorded meeting with the Medical Officer of Health and the local educational psychologist, Dorothy Hammond, as early as 1963 to discuss 'dissatisfaction of Heads with [the] Child Guidance Clinic'.[83] This implies that child guidance, despite its critiques, had not been dismantled by the 1970s, as Stewart's chronology suggests.[84] Rather, it indicates that headteachers still considered it a useful service and that some psychological treatment was even gaining traction as one solution to behaviour problems. However, perhaps the principal factor enabling the report was the integration of Brighton into East Sussex, entailed by the loss of its county borough status in the local government reorganisation of 1974. Education was now directed at the county level by the council in Lewes through a series of 'divisions' of which Brighton was one. The ability to pool resources, but also the capacity to view the county as a coherent whole, were significant factors, as we shall see, in constructing a localised geography and landscape which provided points of internal contrast and relief.

The final report into 'Behavioural Problems in East Sussex Secondary Schools' appeared in January 1975.[85] Its terms of reference were to 'investigate the nature and extent of behaviour problems manifested by pupils of secondary school age, resulting in serious and persistent anti-social conduct, whether in or out of school, and demanding a disproportionate

[82] ESRO, R/E 2/69/6, Letter, W. Harris [Honorary Secretary of Brighton Teachers' Association] to K. Antcliffe [Director of Education], 24 February 1970. This file also contains various letters and resolutions from parents' groups opposed to the changes.

[83] ESRO, ESC 27/3/5, Park Street Senior Mixed School, log book, 16 October 1963.

[84] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-143.

[85] ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, typescript, 'Behavioural Problems in East Sussex Secondary Schools', January 1975.

amount of staff time; and to consider what recommendations can be made which would … assist those concerned in dealing with these difficulties and … help to prevent such difficulties arising'.[86] As with the national study, a statistical approach was employed to attempt to give the most accurate impression of its spread. Accordingly, it was noted that the distribution of serious incidents privileged secondary schools, of which 14 accounted for 10 per cent of all reported behavioural incidents and 69 per cent 'of the total number of pupils presenting problems'. All bar one of these were situated in urban areas of the county and although these are not named they are likely, as the tabulation of the results indicates, to have been located in Brighton (the most affected division), and the other resorts on the coastal strip.[87] Similarly, out of 79 cases where staff faced acts of violence directed against them, 60 of these occurred in just three schools.[88] For context, the total school population at that time was 35,517, and only 6.2 per cent of that figure (or 1506 pupils) were deemed to present significant problems in school. Table 3 summarises these findings.[89]

Revealingly, however, the local nature of the analysis allowed new narratives to be interwoven with more longstanding ones. It was noted, for instance, that the size of the pupil population had no correlation with incidents, but that what the report termed, in highly sociological language, 'the concentration of social difficulties in the catchment area of certain schools' did.[90] The nature of this conceptualisation was significant, because it positioned and

[86] Ibid., p. 1.

[87] Ibid., p. 1.

[88] This source notes that: 'The total number of cases where pupils were actually violent to staff was 79, of which 60 occurred in 3 schools': ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, typescript, 'Behavioural Problems in East Sussex Secondary Schools', January 1975, p. 10.

[89] ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, typescript, 'Behavioural Problems in East Sussex Secondary Schools', January 1975, p. 1.

[90] Ibid., p. 1.

situated the problem firmly within particular communities and localised landscapes, as opposed to the abstract approach of the DES survey in the following year. It equally ensured that a numerically small group of children could nonetheless be presented as posing a disproportionate problem. Medicalised language presented the issue epidemiologically. They were 'disturbed children' who could impact upon the 'work of a whole class'.[91] This was even more revealing because one of the few statistical correlations related to behaviour and pupil type directly identified by the report was age. Indeed, while the general distribution for children identified as 'problems' across the entirety of the county was only 7 per cent in the first year of secondary school (about eleven years old), this rose to 25 per cent in the fourth (fourteen years old) and 31 per cent in the fifth – the very group of fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds affected by RoSLA.[92] Moreover, as Table 3 indicates, one crucial difference between this report and the national survey lay in the categories employed. By merging both threatening behaviour and actual cases of violence into the same heading, the report conflated the two. These statistics thus constituted a type of thick description of the problem, since read for their subtexts they suggested that what was not, in fact, a large problem numerically was highly concentrated among specific social groups and towards the upper end of the school-based adolescent age bracket.

But the thick description was not just statistical in nature, even if the effort to analyse the problem in this way was certainly a departure from what had gone before. Headteachers had been invited to submit written texts and observations, and the report's authors praised the 'eloquent and illuminating sketches of their catchment areas and of the difficult family

[91] Ibid., p. 6.

[92] Ibid., p. 6.

situations with which children have to cope' that this group had provided.[93] This qualitative evidence served as a contextualisation for the claims made by the statistics and it is noteworthy that several of these were quoted verbatim in the report. The tropes of this, identified in the previous chapter, can be noted in the evocation of a catchment area that:

> consists almost entirely of a Council housing estate, built in the early 1930s to rehouse the occupants of the vast slums which existed in the centre of the town … It is an enclave, a 'goldfish bowl' and this has helped to create a community which is very introverted. A great deal of inter-breeding, an average of five children per family, has fortified the clannishness of the community.[94]

Another submission also focused on the state of housing and the typology of parents and children who inhabited 'sub-standard' dwellings: a large number of 'one-parents families', 'families in poverty' and 'criminal families'.[95] This emphasis on place and space likewise extended to the town centres which were amenable to activities for deviant leisure. The report's authors noted the wide-range of 'opportunities for truants, especially in summer' provided by the seaside nature of Sussex and large resorts, such as Brighton, more generally.[96] The local specificities, allied with generic social observation of tropes, thus provided a way for thinking about problems of discipline. This was increasingly being influenced by the 'problem family' rhetoric identified by several scholars. Indeed, the unnamed area referenced in the above citations was undoubtedly Whitehawk, a site for

[93] Ibid., p. 14.

[94] Ibid., p. 15.

[95] Ibid., p. 15.

[96] Ibid., p. 15.

several slum clearance projects in the 1930s.[97] As Ben Jones notes, the area had become a byword for the 'problem family' among the local social services, a reputation which was exacerbated when the area achieved national notoriety as a consequence of the Maria Colwell murder case.[98]

Another vehicle for headteachers to express these types of concern was the log-book. Several that I have been able to examine from the Brighton area certainly testify both to an increase in concern and a linking of this directly to adolescence. One headteacher, during the period in which the report was being composed, recorded his attendance at a 'week-end course on Behaviour Problems'.[99] Earlier initiatives, recorded in a Hove girls' school, included courses in 1971 on '"The Secondary School – a caring community"', but equally a less optimistic 'weekend course' from 1973 on '"Crisis in Education" at Sussex University Centre for Continuing Education'.[100] At another secondary-modern school, this time for boys, several staff meetings were held to discuss RoSLA and the idea of a counselling service suggested.[101] Meanwhile, both male and female schools appear to have sent delegates to a course on the 'social and emotional difficulties of the adolescent'.[102] Nothing survives about

[97] Ben Jones, 'Slum clearance, privatisation and residualisation: the practices and politics of council housing in mid-twentieth-century England', *Twentieth Century British History*, 21:4 (2010), pp. 518-526, 535.

[98] Jones, 'Slum clearance', pp. 518-519, 535; Jennifer Crane, *Child Protection in England, 1960-2000: expertise, experience, and emotion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[99] ESRO, ESC 185/1/2, Patcham Fawcett School, log book, 22 October 1973, 28 November 1973, 13 July 1975.

[100] ESRO, ESC 294/1/1, The Knoll County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 9 October 1971, 26 January 1973.

[101] ESRO, ESC 197/2/1, Stanmer Secondary Modern School, minutes of staff meetings, third book, 1 October 1970, 1 May 1972, 25 May 1972, 2 October 1972.

[102] ESRO, ESC 103/1/2, The Knoll School for Boys, log book, 2 February 1973; ESRO, ESC 294/1/1, The Knoll County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 2-3 February 1973; ESRO, ESC 101/1/7, Davigdor County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 2 February 1973.

the content of these courses, nor about how they were received by their intended audience, but their evocative names – and the fact that they were held at all – is indicative of a climate of opinion and concern which fed into RoSLA and helped to precipitate and shape the report.

In Brighton, the statistical approach was therefore positioned alongside a continuance of thick description and concerns with the local landscape, while the national surveys, whether union- or government-based tended to abstract these landscapes, even to the point of not being able to understand the categories that different local authorities employed. All of these, however, evidence a gradual introduction of a more sociological language of the 'problem family' that challenged the older dominance of the landscape. They demonstrate how far statistics, through their ability to promote certain narratives and mask others, were merely instruments in a wider thick description of adolescent behaviour. While the statistical studies of the NAS and DES found it difficult to factor the concerns of the sociological landscape of the adolescent into their analyses, the local survey in Brighton was able to attempt this. It is both noteworthy and significant that only the more geographically-limited survey was able to foreground these in the form of the headteachers' written submissions. When faced with anecdotal evidence and submissions of this nature, the DES civil servants were less hopeful in working out how to integrate them into the analysis and preferred instead to stress the importance of paying attention to perceptions of change. The NAS report, produced by someone with psychological and scientific training, addressed the thorny issues of definition in perhaps the most open way of all three. Yet it was unable to consider the local other than through efforts to map the distribution of reported incidents regionally.

(5.3) Local problems and local solutions: Brighton in the mid-1970s

In this section, I seek to foreground the place and particularities of the local in debates over discipline through the prism of the afterlives of the Brighton report, preserved in the city and county archives. This points towards the further development of the 'problem family' discourse identified above and the desire to integrate provision in a more systematic way.[103] In doing so, it shows how several different strands of local welfare and educational provision were coming together in the form of the psycho-social.

One outcome of the report was a greater focus on pastoral care, at least as far as East Sussex County Council was concerned. In this, it was largely supported by the SPS and, specifically, by its educational psychologist.[104] This plan reflected a contemporary desire, manifest in criticisms of the psychological services and the Seebohm Report into the social services at the end of the previous decade, to introduce a more case-conference-based and collaborative approach to dealing with what were regarded as social problems. Key to this were the holding of regular conferences between teachers, educational welfare officers (social workers specialised in truancy), psychologists and the social services. This was piloted in a few schools initially, and especially in those deemed to be most difficult. A letter from the headteacher of Whitehawk-based Stanley Deason school (then in the process of being constituted from several secondary moderns) gives an indication of the procedure, which aimed to discuss between 10 and 12 pupils at each meeting and offer ten minutes of time to each.[105] The case-conference approach was deemed to be central to the activities of the

[103] John Welshman, 'Evacuation, hygiene, and social policy: the *Our Towns* report of 1943', *The Historical Journal*, 42:3 (1999), pp. 781-807; Welshman, 'In search of the "problem family"'; Jones, 'Slum clearance'.

[104] ESRO, R/E 2/68/35, Memorandum, Schools Section to Miss Penney and Mr Lyn Jones (Area Education Officer), 12 March 1976.

[105] ESRO, R/E 2/68/35, Letter, John Werner [headmaster of Stanley Deason School] to Mr Astle, undated.

pastoral liaison committees (PLCs) into which the council hoped these would evolve and, according to a departmental discussion document, were designed to 'foster co-ordination between the schools' pastoral organisation and the services available from outside'.[106] Although these were instructed to 'operate solely in an advisory capacity', their remit and scope for making recommendations was extremely broad, encompassing 'general matters of policy in dealing with children in difficulty' as well as 'the place of the school in the community and the relationship of problems and solutions to the local environment', allowing them scope for influence.[107]

The emphasis on 'environment' highlights the extent of sociological influence in determining what the committees were intended to discuss. The records of the governors' committee for one Brighton school outline how such a scheme could operate. Here, the headmistress was clear about the sociological motivations for the action, stating in her initial report to the board that liaison was necessary to 'appreciate and understand some of the needs and problems of an area which I would put into the category of "deprived"' – a group that she claimed were 'greater than average' in the school.[108] The slippage of language here stressed the connections between family, class and social deviance. In later minutes she continued to insist that the school's problems were a consequence of the 'social conditions under which many children and their parents live', with the school having 'an abnormally high proportion of such families'.[109] Interestingly, this part of the report had a handwritten margin annotation

[106] ESRO, R/E 2/68/35, typescript, 'East Sussex County Council. Brighton Education Area. Pastoral Liaison Committees', undated.

[107] Ibid.

[108] ESRO, EMA 188/3, Governors' Minutes, 'Report to be submitted to the School Governors', 23 March 1970.

[109] ESRO, EMA 188/3, Governors' Minutes, 'Report to be submitted to the School Governors', 8 November 1971.

(possibly from a member of the governing body) stating that: 'It is arguably [*sic*] whether this school has proportionately [illegible] more [illegible] problem than a number of other schools in the County, schools who deal with the problem within their resources'.[110] This serves as an instructive reminder that councillors were not always sympathetic to headteachers invoking these sociological ideas, but this did not stop them from being responsive to the desire for greater collaborative approaches with other agencies. The joint committee, which originally called itself the 'Inter-Service Problem Pupil Group' claimed to have met ten times in its first year, and to have discussed 22 children. However, its reports note that it was 'difficult to divide the case load' because 'there is no clear-cut demarcation between' those who were disruptive in different spaces (such as the school, home, community).[111] Spatiality thus marked the limits of thinking problems through the prism of 'the social', even if it was welcomed by headteachers.

This does not suggest that responses from teachers and head teachers were necessarily always positive. Revealingly, this often depended on the type of the school. The headmistress of a girls' grammar school, for instance, was doubtful that 'yet another committee would help us', directing the office to her view that the capacity for schools to help was frequently short-circuited by other agencies.[112] Another grammar-school headteacher (this time male) felt that it would be 'a sledgehammer organisation to crack a nut. As a grammar school we have had so few cases of real difficulty that we have been able to give much individual attention to

[110] ESRO, EMA 188/3, Governors' Minutes, 'Report to be submitted to the School Governors', 8 November 1971.

[111] ESRO, EMA 188/3, Governors' Minutes, typescript, 'Inter-Service Problem Pupil Group Meetings: report for year Sept 1972-Sept 1973', annexed to 'Report to be submitted to the School Governors', in Minutes, 20 November 1973.

[112] ESRO, R/E 2/68/35, Letter, R. A. Clark [headmistress of Varndean School for Girls] to Mr Lyn Jones, 12 June 1975.

contacting the appropriate services'.[113] Meanwhile, the head of a technical school wrote that he was unable to 'think in the "Big School" manner. I just feel that Liaison Committees, Counsellors, Year Masters, etc, are an expensive appendage, soaking money away from the real educational and social needs of the children'.[114] The headmistress of a secondary-modern school, on the other hand, sounded a more favourable note, observing that 'sometimes, one can see a child heading for disaster and feel powerless to help'.[115] Teachers' responses to the PLCs were consequently governed by their own sense of proximity to discourses of social problems.

Concern in Brighton continued to grow throughout the later half of the 1970s. 'Disruptive pupils' and a seeming upsurge in vandalism cases were being discussed at area headquarters with headteachers as late as 1978.[116] By 1977, a joint committee of magistrates and headteachers was constituted to discuss common responses to the problems of behaviour and to explore opportunities for legal responses, not least through the magistrates making an example of a particular case. However, one of the joint committee's problems was trying to find a suitable case of school-based 'vandalism' to publicise, despite 110 incidences of this being recorded between January and August 1977.[117] Such difficulties indicate the slippery

[113] ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, Letter, P. W. Rogers to Lyn Jones, 10 July 1975.

[114] ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, Letter, R. G. E. Wilson to Lyn Jones, 8 July 1975.

[115] ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, Letter, L. L. Nagle to Lyn Jones, 11 July 1975.

[116] ESRO, ESC 101/1/7, Davigdor County Secondary Girls' School, log book, 24 February 1978.

[117] ESRO, R/E 2/68/15, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools held on the 17th October 1977'; ESRC, R/E 2/68/15, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools held on the 16th November 1978'; ESRO, R/E 2/68/16, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools held on the 10th May 1979'; ESRO R/E 2/68/16, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools held on the 15th November

nature of definitions and the potentially relatively minor nature of the offences against property actually being carried out in the schools. More generally, this committee became a space for headteachers to complain about the sociological factors underlying disciplinary problems as well as their incidence. But its existence also testifies to the desire of headteachers to use the law courts more as an external agent of enforcement and discipline. The head of the Stanley Deason School told the joint committee that, 'in his experience, the number of incidents of extreme violence had subsided, but there were still cases of extortion of money by violence and petty attacks by pupils on staff which he felt should be referred to the Courts more frequently'.[118] This was still being situated, seven years later, in relation to RoSLA, but also the community, with allusions at the November 1979 meeting 'made to the effects of the raising of the school leaving age and to the violence seen in schools being a reflection of violence in the home and neighbourhood'.[119]

The persistence of these discourses, and their mixing with others – most notably in the form of the problem family – are noteworthy. In the subsequent chapter, I posit that this is related to the concurrent return of a behaviourist psychology, which itself weakened the sociological approach. But local analysis demonstrates that landscape- and community-based concerns were continuing, even if they were evolving. Slum clearance had removed older locales but shifted attention to others. Meanwhile, efforts to bridge divides between schools

1979'; ESRO, R/E 2/68/16, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools held on the 4th June [1981 ?]'.

[118] ESRO, R/E 2/68/16, typescript, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools, held on 4th June [1981 ?]'.

[119] ESRO, R/E 2/68/16, typescript, 'Notes of a meeting between Magistrates of the Juvenile Court and Heads of Secondary and Middle Schools, held on 15th November 1979'.

and other agencies had mixed results, which partly derived from teachers' different methods of thinking.

(5.4) Conclusion

The surveys examined in this chapter all responded to a need by the teaching profession for validation of their views about increased violent and disruptive behaviour in the wake of RoSLA. These fears coalesced around the emergent figure of the dangerous, reluctant fifteen-year-old adolescent. While the statistical attention alighted on attempts to identify national trends, however, the local landscape was still the predominant conduit for concern. Brighton and East Sussex illustrate the role that RoSLA could have on the local level; with national anxieties frequently overlain with local concerns about social groups and specific estates or localities (such as Whitehawk). The methodology of its report, too, was able to refract these concerns through its inclusion of headteachers' voices raising concerns about specific locales and family types. These factors also coloured headteachers' responses to the resulting PLCs, which were highly varied. The establishment of a network of committees designed to support case conferences between schools and other groups are one example of Brighton's distinctive local response; one which helped to consolidate images of the 'problem family' as a target of concern. Yet there is difficulty in situating these totally in a narrative of landscape's continuity. It was increasingly being overlaid with other factors, and the focus undoubtedly shifted from the inner-city slums to the suburban council estate. This geographical movement is significant in returning the analysis to the deviant pathological family itself, bound by its environment. Teachers were less able to ignore the psycho-social nature of the environment that the earlier landscape discourse had elided. As I noted in Chapter One, the narrative of the psycho-social and of teachers' concerns with sociology and psychology is not neat, and the

trends away and towards psychology and sociology are a broad and suggestive narrative trajectory which may well hide geographical and institutional variations.

The 1970s return to quantitative methodologies imbued such methodologies with a vision of authenticity and truthfulness which went in parallel with attempts to understand adolescent problems and their social context. While the disciplinary problems posed by the adolescent in quantitative forms supported a connection between types of urban environment and problems, they diminished the ethnographic observation of those locations. Yet there remained, as in earlier autobiographical and autoethnographic examples of thick description, an inherent tension between the need to represent the individual troublesome adolescent as a product of a complex interplay of psychological and sociological factors and the need to develop a wider, aggregated theory to account for such development. More importantly, none of these surveys and studies – although testifying to a significant level of professional concern – were yet at the level of a full quasi-independent inquiry. That would arrive only at the end of the 1980s, as we shall see in the next chapter. But it was prepared by these earlier efforts to grapple with the issues of definition and extent in thinking about supposedly deteriorating behaviour, on the national and local levels, and, in turn, their feeding back into pre-existing concerns.

Table 3 - Incidence of behaviour by type in East Sussex secondary schools. Source: ESRO, R/E/ 2/68/35, typescript, 'Behavioural Problems in East Sussex Secondary Schools', January 1975, p. 10.

Area	No on roll	Children showing problems in school		Theft or damage to property		Intimidation or violence to children		Threat and/or violence to staff		Refusal of school authority		Disruption elsewhere		Total number of times problem behaviour recorded
Brighton	7762	525	6.8%	149	1.9%	189	2.4%	90	1.2%	468	6%	206	2.6%	**1102**
Hastings	8905	408	4.6%	155	1.7%	122	1.4%	23	0.2%	347	3.9%	197	2.2%	**844**
Hove	5282	257	4.9%	112	2.1%	116	2.2%	21	0.4%	231	2.4%	113	2.1%	**593**
Eastbourne	5845	152	2.6%	53	0.9%	83	1.4%	16	0.2%	139	2.4%	94	1.6%	**385**
Lewes	7723	164	2.1%	56	0.7%	61	0.8%	15	0.2%	110	1.5%	37	0.5%	**279**
Total	35,517	1506	21%	525	7.3%	571	8.2%	165	2.2%	1295	16.2%	647	9%	**3203**
Percentage of times problem behaviour was recorded				**16%**		**18%**		**5%**		**41%**		**20%**		**100%**

CHAPTER 6:

BEHAVIOURAL 'SYSTEMS' FOR DISCIPLINING THE ADOLESCENT: 'SYSTEMS THEORY', THE ABOLITION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, AND THE EIDIS REPORT, 1979-1989

The trends identified in the previous chapter constituted a new direction for quantitative research in 1970s debates over the effects of RoSLA on adolescent discipline. As in Brighton, this could occur alongside ethnographic and descriptive sociological practices, but also, as in the DES' own survey, in opposition to them. Moving that narrative chronologically forward, into the 1980s, is a productive exercise for understanding both the afterlives of those research methodologies and how they contributed to the re-emergence of a behaviourist stance in the pedagogy of adolescent discipline. This was bound together with the rise of 'systems' theory; a term that I use to describe efforts to anatomise the school as a social and ecological system that gained ground in the 1970s. These approaches contributed to a number of pedagogical texts on discipline in the 1980s before finding an apogee in the 1989 Elton Inquiry into Discipline in School (EIDIS).[1] The pedagogy of discipline underlying this new approach was more concerned with abstracting the adolescent from the landscape than its predecessors, substituting a language of 'environment' and 'ecology' for thick description.

Both Hendrick and Stewart argue that the period before the 1970s witnessed the decline of the older, and more explicitly therapeutic, models of the child guidance and

[1] *Discipline in Schools: report of the committee of enquiry chaired by Lord Elton* (London: HMSO, 1989).

psychological clinics, as local government reorganisation and the implementation of the Seebohm Report stressed the place of social work in helping the child.[2] However, I argue that this shift was also related to a critique of the methods of the dynamic psychiatry and a corresponding turn towards behaviourism, socio-biology and especially ethology at this time, which even implicated Bowlby and led him to revise his earlier theses.[3] Both Hendrick and Thom point to these emerging methodologies – and especially behaviourism – in parenting manuals and childcare literature from this time, but no effort to connect them to pedagogical literature has so far been made.[4] Functioning in a similar way to RoSLA, these developments opened a space for teachers to articulate their concern about what was felt to be a worsening disciplinary situation in schools. Such anxieties culminated in the establishment of EIDIS in 1988 and its report of the following year. EIDIS is significant, and differentiated from the surveys of earlier periods, in being the first proper inquiry into discipline to be created under the auspices of the DES. Although, as I have argued, the 1970s witnessed a growth in the use of statistical surveys and similar quantifying initiatives from collectives of civil servants, trades unions and local authorities, none of these investigations were intended for official publication, and none carried the imprimatur of an official inquiry chaired by a public figure.[5] Analysis of the report and the departmental files behind it reveal that by the end of the period under study here an eclectic range of materials was being consulted in an effort to frame and

[2] Hendrick, *Narcissistic Parenting*, pp. 250-261; Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-143.

[3] Van der Horst, *John Bowlby*, pp. 75-102.

[4] Hendrick, *Narcissistic Parenting*, pp. 250-261; Deborah Thom, '"Beating children is wrong": domestic life, psychological thinking and the permissive turn', in Lucy Delap, Ben Griffin, and Abigail Wills (eds), *The Politics of Domestic Authority in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 261-283.

[5] The inquiry was established in 1987 under the leadership of Lord (Rodney) Elton (b. 1930), a Conservative hereditary peer who had previously served as a minister in the Home Office.

understand adolescence, aggression and indiscipline in schools. EIDIS's breadth was, I argue, the product of three things: a unique cluster of concerns coalescing around its moment in relation to the pedagogy of discipline (and discussed in a later section); the rendering of discipline as an issue of public concern by the teaching unions in a hitherto unprecedented way through the use of the media; and what has been identified (albeit problematically) as a 'New Right' ideological shift in educational policy, defined by centralisation, concern with order, and the desire to transmit more traditional values through curricula.[6] I argue that EIDIS is significant because it illustrates where the concerns of the systems approach coalesce in the most visible way. After discussing the role of psychology and psychiatry in the critique of earlier assumptions about schools and behaviour, this chapter turns towards the 'systems' approach which developed from this in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the third section, meanwhile, I provide an analysis of the circumstances leading up to the formation of EIDIS, as well as its evidence and deliberations, to draw conclusions about how successful the spread of systems ideas had been.

No analysis of this is possible, however, without first briefly addressing the extant literature on late-twentieth-century education. This is important because, as I show, the roots for the later developments go back much earlier. The late-twentieth-century educational changes were partly a reaction to what came before, but were also, in many respects, the apogee of the progressive theories. Unlike the 1970s, which enjoy a burgeoning historiography, only a small amount of published work has begun to reflect historically on the longer histories of wider political, economic and cultural shifts often attributed to the 1980s and their apparently dominant ideology of 'Thatcherism'.[7] Historians of the 1970s,

[6] Addison, *No Turning Back*, pp. 302-304; Timmins, *The Five Giants*, pp. 417-430.

[7] Addison, *No Turning Back*; Timmins, *The Five Giants*.

meanwhile, have actually suggested that many of the processes that culminated in growing individualism and free-market economics are the products of the previous decade.[8] Indeed, for contemporary education scholars and theorists, the issues at the start of the decade were neither directly related to discipline nor to the incoming Conservative government. There were lively critiques of the social services and child guidance departments in the 1970s, some of which will be examined in this chapter. There was also concern about the future for 'progressive' teaching methods after the growth of public antagonism towards educational experimentation in the aftermath of the William Tyndale case.[9] The Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, launched his 'Great Debate' in 1976, providing a space for more traditional voices on pedagogy to challenge more recent shifts.[10] The return to 'traditional' values, in education as elsewhere, heralded by the incoming Thatcher cabinet in 1979 were thus recognised by contemporaries as having enjoyed a longer gestation.[11] Many of the 'systems' authors, as I shall demonstrate below, were in fact attempting to produce something akin to Simon's English 'pedagogy' and one that was left-leaning and child-centred. As we analyse the content of their ideas, and their impacts on schooling, it is worthwhile reflecting on the fact that for those who produced what can seem highly limiting, behaviourist-inflected theories,

[8] Robinson, et al., 'Telling stories about post-war Britain'; Matthew Hilton, 'Politics is ordinary: non-governmental organisations and political participation in contemporary Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22:1 (2011), pp. 230-268; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 'Discourses of "class" in Britain', pp. 294-317.

[9] Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority and the William Tyndale Junior School affair'; Timmins, *The Five Giants*, pp. 270-272.

[10] Timmins, *The Five Giants*, pp. 321-323. According to Timmins, Callaghan's 'Great Debate' 'set large parts of the agenda' in education 'for the next decade' (pp. 417-430).

[11] Simon, 'Why no pedagogy in England?', pp. 124-125; Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain, Theatres of Memory, Volume II* (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 214-223, 333, 340-341; Timmins, *The Five Giants*, p. 272.

such approaches did appear to fit within a progressive framework. This was by virtue of placing the burden for discipline – and explanations for poor behaviour – on the school and its mismanagement of adolescents, rather than on the teenagers themselves. But these ideas came to influence markedly divergent practices from the left and the right, and I account for the reasons behind the multivalence of their appeal in the second half of the chapter.

(6.1) 'Systems' as a governmental pedagogy of discipline: psychologists and sociologists prepare the terrain

The systems approach to discipline was founded at the conjuncture of new psychological and sociological ideas which emerged at the beginning of the 1970s. These sought to reframe understandings of the child's relationship with school and family. In many respects, it was 'child-centred' in Tisdall's understanding of the phrase; accepting the limitations of environment and stages of developments but placing the ethos of the school and the behaviour of teachers more critically into understandings of what drove children's engagement with education.[12] It suggested that alterations to school practice and routines could exert a positive influence on behaviour, and even prevent misbehaviour completely. In this sense, 'systems' referred simultaneously to the environment of the school, and to the proposed frameworks for dealing with behaviour within it. It was, in Foucauldian terms, a highly 'governmental' approach based on the observation of behaviour and encouragement of self-discipline, but one that developed as much from the social as the 'bio' disciplines. In the 1968 volume on adolescent psychology that he prepared for the NFER, the psychiatrist W. D. Wall reflected that '[t]he whole sociology of the school itself' was a key but, he thought,

[12] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', pp. 24-25.

neglected factor in adolescent development and behaviour. 'The school itself should be studied as a social system', Wall argued, comprising 'its aims, its organisation to achieve those aims, and the norms and values which regulate [its] interactions'.[13] That idea of the school as a 'social system', attempts to anatomise its structure, and their bearing on conceptualisations of discipline, are one impact of an increasing convergence in the interests of sociology and psychology during the 1970s. Indeed, I argue that this became something of a recurring trope in educational writings throughout the 1970s, positioning the school itself as integral to stimulating certain behaviours.

One influential figure in this movement was the psychiatrist Michael Rutter (b. 1933), based in the Institute of Psychiatry at King's College and later the Maudsley Hospital. A psychiatrist working at the boundary of sociology, Rutter developed an early reputation for studies which examined the effect of geography and social class on the incidence of maladjustment and psychological disorders. One of his earliest publications was a survey of child psychiatric disorders, provocatively entitled 'Why are London children so disturbed?'[14] Such research was significant in occurring towards the end of the period identified by Sarah Hayes when maladjustment was declining as a category and new neurological and psychiatric categories were emerging to replace the catch-all term.[15] Despite its title, Rutter's paper was part of an on-going critical engagement with maladjustment, led by a new generation of psychological professionals, and forms part of a wider shift in 1970s social psychiatry

[13] Wall, *The Adolescent at School*, p. 39.

[14] Michael Rutter, 'Why are London children so disturbed?', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 66 (1973), pp. 1221-1225.

[15] Hayes, 'The medicalisation of maladjustment'; Matt Smith, *Hyperactive: the controversial history of ADHD* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), pp. 164-171.

towards the measurement of behavioural phenomena and questions of biological adaptation.[16] Significantly, the government was aware of his work and he had what one civil servant termed a 'powerful personal[ity]' such that 'none of [his] fellow academics has been prepared to mildly disagree' with his suggestions.[17] Several of his projects received grants from the DHSS, and his work on 'cycles of disadvantage' influenced the Thatcherite ideologue Keith Joseph.[18] The DES, meanwhile, seemed interested primarily in his work on 'the relationship between emotional adjustment and successful achievement', as well as 'the effect on adjustment of the home/school relationship' and 'the quality of "caring"' in the school.[19] Rutter's work thus represents a bridging of two psychological approaches in post-war Britain, particularly in his *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed* (published, like Bowlby's and Winnicott's work, as a Penguin paperback) which challenged one of the foundational theories of Britain's post-war psychological consensus.[20] The main target of Rutter's critique was Bowlby's supposedly 'monotropic' conception of attachment, which asserted that the mother-bond was the single most significant factor in a child's well-being.[21] Crucially, these were both felt to be 'largely determined by the social setting', an argument which provided the basis for his subsequent work on schools.[22]

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[16] Hayward, 'Sadness in Camberwell', pp. 326-331; Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial', pp. 7-9.

[17] Civil servant cited in Welshman, *From Transmitted Deprivation to Social Exclusion*, p. 122.

[18] Welshman, *From Transmitted Deprivation to Social Exclusion*, pp. 80-88.

[19] TNA, ED 269/28, letter, D. McLaughlin to Rutter, 22 May 1974.

[20] Michael Rutter, *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

[21] Ibid., pp. 19, 60-62.

[22] Ibid., p. 19.

The influence of these ideas can be observed in the contemporary challenges to the dominance of the mother-centred narrative. Many LEAs cited in the 1976 DES survey, for instance, listed '[m]arital breakup or tension' as a significant cause of poor discipline, but inverted the standard Bowlby model of delinquency by asserting that it was the absence of the father that was more important for the boy than the absence of the mother.[23] Rutter, by suggesting the scope for variations within the monolithic narrative of Bowlby, also set the scene for a critique of 'maladjustment' which, in the critical view of one writer on education whose work will be examined below, tended to be understood too 'epidemiologically'.[24]

The results of Rutter's most ambitious project were published as *Fifteen Thousand Hours* in 1979, the title alluding to the length of time, on average, spent in school by pupils over the course of their educational lives. Its assertion that schools could exert a powerful influence on pupil behaviour, in spite of the presence of home and community factors, led to a growing reappraisal of 'ethos' and tone in discussions of schools and discipline.[25] Indeed, one commentator in the late 1980s would claim that Rutter's work was directly responsible for recovering 'ethos' from an archaic, almost Victorian, term to a central concern in measuring the success of a school.[26] The language used to locate the school geographically and socially likewise removed any discussion of landscape, preferring instead to discuss the

[23] TNA, ED 269/124, typescript, 'Violent and disruptive behaviour in schools', pp. 8-9.

[24] Bill Gillham, 'Rethinking the problem', in idem (ed), *Problem Behaviour in the Secondary School: a systems approach* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 11.

[25] Michael Rutter, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore, Janet Ousten and Alan Smith, *Fifteen-Thousand Hours: secondary schools and their effects on children* (London: Open Books, 1979). For a discussion on 'ethos' in relation to Rutter's work, see: Pat White, 'Political education and school organisation', in Brian Simon and William Taylor (eds), *Education in the Eighties: the central issues* (London: Batsford Academic and Education, 1981), pp. 176-178.

[26] Rutter, et al., *Fifteen-Thousand Hours*.

'ecology' of the school and 'the area [it] serve[s]'. Such terms – oddly at the juncture of the social and physical sciences – sought to bring together society and culture.[27] The role of these vocabulary changes – from ethos to ecology – are important and exemplify the systems approach. Indeed, such terms carry out a significant intellectual role in the pedagogies of discipline that would be elaborated from these approaches, seeking to label and make amenable to analysis an exceptionally wide (perhaps even unwieldy) set of social, psychological, economic and politic factors.

The convergence of these factors is most visible in Rutter's work, although it was part of a wider process which also implicated sociological currents. Although a large number of sociologists were more critical of social psychology's turn towards behaviour, these ideas were reflective of contemporary currents in the social sciences.[28] A more critical approach to the study of deprivation and delinquency had developed throughout the 1960s, through the work of Stuart Hall and those related to his and Richard Hoggart's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham.[29] Paul Corrigan's *Schooling the Smash Street Kids* (1979) marked one such foray, as did David Hargreaves' *Social Relations in a Secondary School* (1967).[30] Ideas which had been pioneered in studies of race, class and

[27] Rutter, et al., *Fifteen Thousand Hours*, p. 49. Hayward has explored how 'environment', in particular, was popularised by 1950s psychosocial theorists: Hayward, 'The invention of the psychosocial', pp. 7-8; Hayward, 'Enduring emotions'. From a more sociological perspective, see: Laurie Taylor, 'The meaning of the environment', in Colin Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (London: H E Warne, 1973), pp. 54-63; H. Wilson and G. Herbert, 'Hazards of environment', *New Society,* 8 June 1972, pp. 508-511.

[28] Welshman, *From Transmitted Deprivation to Social Exclusion,* pp. 175-201.

[29] Kieran Connell and Matthew Hilton, 'The working practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies', *Social History,* 40:3 (2015), pp. 287-311; Kieran Connell, '*Policing the Crisis* 35 years on', *Contemporary British History,* 29:2 (2015), pp. 273-283.

[30] David Hargreaves, *Social Relations in a Secondary School* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967); Paul Corrigan, *Schooling the Smash Street Kids* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

delinquency by the more radical strand of British sociology found expression in a more critical approach to the sociology of education and schooling, and could even become part of training materials for intending teachers. The Longman publishing company's 'Sociology of Education' series included a *Sociology of the School* in 1972. Written by M. D. Shipman, it sought to appeal directly to trainee teachers by exposing '[t]he structure and functions of both primary and secondary schools … in a way designed to introduce students not only to a fresh view of their own experience, but also to a fresh approach, through sociology, to problems in education'.[31] Shipman analysed the school through the lens of power and 'social control', noting how the institution was 'organised to contain the children within a system of order'.[32] An understanding of behaviour therefore had to be centred around the social and material stimuli which produced it, understood through the sociological language of 'structure' and 'tension' between groups.[33] Seeking to downplay RoSLA anxieties, he went on to argue that 'even in the worst school […] Conflict is rarely vicious', and often 'played out between staff and pupils with agreed rules'.[34] Such work supported a pedagogy of discipline which saw schools as spaces to be 'governed' systematically. More crucially, through presenting it in an accessible manner – indeed, a sociology primer for trainee teachers – it emphasised how important such conceptions of discipline were becoming in the eyes of those responsible for teacher training.

Taken as a whole, these models of behaviour granted more agency to the school over children's lives in the post-war landscape and sought to embed behaviour and its causes in

[31] M. D. Shipman, *The Sociology of the School*, 2nd edition (London: Longman, 1975 [1968]), back cover (paperback).

[32] Ibid., p. 84.

[33] Ibid., p. 86.

[34] Ibid., p. 85.

the structure of the school. They positioned them as flashpoints which revealed the underlying structures of tension and stress on which they were based and led to the promotion of a more governmental pedagogy of discipline. This involved a commingling of sociological and psychological languages, but with a definite dominance of psychological behaviourism. The vocabulary employed by these commentators suggests a more complex formulation of the psycho-social in the late twentieth-century. The translation of these terms to teachers, and their growing application to anatomise classroom life is significant in shaping a new understanding of what pedagogy should be and how it should be implemented. Its novelty lay in the application of these sociological and psychological models to understand the interactions between individuals within the school as a setting, and the consequent representation of teachers and pupils as actors amenable to such an analysis. How these ideas were translated by those who trained and addressed teachers directly is the subject of the subsequent section.

(6.2) 'Systems' pedagogies: teachers, theorists and the 'therapeutic' school

The conceptualisation of the school as a system which could exert influence over a pupil's behaviour was popularised through pedagogical literature in the 1970s and early 1980s. These ideas also fed into a critique of the dominant models of child guidance and also emboldened a more behaviourist trend in child and adolescent psychology. In this way, they marked a departure from earlier models of understanding behaviour that centralised dynamic psychology and saw psychiatric therapy administered in the clinic setting as a solution. Instead, they promoted practices of 'behaviour modification' and positioned the school as a therapeutic space. A number of such texts appeared in print, critical of what their authors termed the 'medical' approach of the clinic, isolated from the school.

Bill Gillham, a former educational psychologist and the editor of a 1981 volume whose title directly evoked a 'systems approach' to resolve 'problem behaviour', directly blamed concerns about 'breakdown' in 'urban areas' during the 1970s on the 'social relationships in secondary schools'.[35] This was exacerbated by an 'epidemiological' model for understanding maladjustment and behaviour which medicalised it. Psychologists – or, more accurately psychiatrists – in child guidance stood accused of placing the team-work approach above running an effective service. The service had become a 'byword for ineffectuality' and 'psycho-analytic explanations' such that it 'is not surprising that educational psychologists, the only members of the Child Guidance "team" to go regularly into schools, and therefore most conscious of the inadequacy of the service, have progressively disentangled themselves from it'.[36] Gillham's intervention was, in reality, against 'treatment' and 'therapy', instead advocating an approach based on close observation of children in their environment and efforts to minimise the opportunities for misbehaviour. Keith Topping's *Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents* (1983) likewise positioned its 'systems' approach prominently in the title, the author engaging directly in his introduction with the medical question: 'The author will take for granted that his readers will analyse what follows from an educational rather than from a medical standpoint. Therefore, there will be little reference to "maladjustment", a term incapable of agreed definition and heavy with the implication of internal disorder'.[37] This critique of the very terms of

[35] Bill Gillham, 'Rethinking the problem', p. 9.

[36] Ibid, pp. 11-12.

[37] Keith Topping, *Educational Systems for Disruptive Adolescents* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 11.

psychological diagnosis prefigured a deeper focus on what Topping called the 'wider causative perspective' of social behaviours.[38]

Adolescent aggression was the principal behaviouristic focus of these texts. In attempting to define the problem in 1976, Clive Jones-Davies of Cleveland LEA demonstrated, too, the continuity of many older ideas within this. Noting initially that adolescence 'is an aggressive period', he went on to observe that this 'is not to say that its nature is either violent or destructive' but rather that its main problem was 'assertiveness' against authority.[39] A multiple-authored monograph from 1982, meanwhile, attributed the perception of mounting violence – if not its actual incidence – to 'increased reporting' of it 'in the world as a whole',[40] while a headmaster from the North-East, writing in Jones-Davies' collection, likewise noted that '[t]oday's adolescents have acquired and assumed more freedom', and 'observe fewer signposts in a rather more desolate landscape'.[41] As we saw in the previous chapter, such views went together with RoSLA anxieties and a growing pessimism in the landscape of the adolescent and the world around him.[42] The solution advocated by the headmaster, an early proponent of the systems approach, was the creation of a 'rehabilitation' system within the school itself, as opposed to a psychiatrist's clinic outside of it.[43] Key to this were the relationships teachers forged with their pupils, one which echoed

[38] Ibid, p. 11.

[39] Clive Jones-Davies, 'An overview and definition of the problem', in Clive Jones-Davies and Ronald G. Cave (eds), *The Disruptive Pupil in the Secondary School* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1976), pp. 14-15.

[40] David Galloway, Tina Ball, Diana Blomfield and Rosalind Seyd, *Schools and Disruptive Pupils* (Harlow: Longman, 1982), p. ix.

[41] Baxter, 'Tackling the disruptive pupil', p. 69.

[42] See: Elizabeth Manners, *The Vulnerable Generation* (London: Cassell, 1971).

[43] Ibid., p. 72.

much older language about needing to 'inform the adolescent about himself and his growing powers of mind and body'.[44] Behaviour problems were relegated largely to situational problems; a 'continuum' of behaviours through which they moved over the course of their life-cycle and in accordance with mood, temperament and social contexts. This highly situational approach stressed how children could respond well to one teacher but not to another.[45] As Gillham asserted:

> The 'systems' approach defended and elaborated throughout the book is one in which children and schools are cited within their environments; with the implication that adjustments may need to be necessary to both. It is also 'continuous'.[46]

The conceptions underlying these ideas saw misbehaviour less as an inherent failing in one child, and more in terms of responses to the systems around them. This reduced the burden of causation for aggressive behaviour on the child, but equally sought to revalidate the school as a site for potentially positive influence on maladjusted behaviours. Teachers were thus encouraged to reflect on their outward appearances and projection of personality in addition to their capacity to read the body language of their pupils. As a Birmingham school log-book entry from as early as 1966 demonstrates, in which a teacher was recommended for a course of acting classes, those who trained teachers had long recognised the importance of drama in helping teachers to 'project' their 'personalit[ies]'.[47]

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[44] D. R. Poole, 'Education in personal relationships', in Clive Jones-Davies and Ronald G. Cave (eds), *The Disruptive Pupil in the Secondary School* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1976), p. 118.

[45] Galloway et al, *Schools and Disruptive Pupils*, p. xiii.

[46] Gillham, 'Rethinking the problem', p. 26.

[47] BAHPS, S 39/2, Burlington Girls' School, log book, 4 March 1966.

By dealing with behaviour, and the recent concern with aggressiveness particularly, they also reclaimed such behaviours for the school and articulated differing conceptions of what child guidance and school psychology ought to be. Gillham, in a separate chapter from the 1980s, claimed that psychologists such as himself were trying to 'reconstruct their profession so as to deliver a more useful service to schools'.[48] This positioned changes to the school psychological service in terms of a 'service' subservient to educational – and especially teachers' – needs. To be sure, problems could still be fixed in a Freudian way, with adolescents characterised as trying to 'establish … a secure ego' through violence.[49] Indeed, the continued place of Freudian theory in some conceptions of behaviour is demonstrated through the inclusion of a piece, authored by Peter Wilson and Virginia Bottomley (respectively the therapist and psychiatric social worker at the Camberwell child guidance clinic), exploring adolescent emotions from a decidedly sex-drive-centred angle in an edited collection from 1980.[50] Its unapologetically psychoanalytic framework also suggests a more hawkish defence of the discipline which may have alienated it still further from its detractors. Such attitudes undoubtedly did little to quell the critique emanating from Gillham that child guidance clinics were little more than sites of pseudo-psychoanalytic theory and divided from the experiential world of the classroom. The new frameworks also ensured that aggression was no longer the internalised process of the inter-war period, but an outward pathological behaviour.

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[48] Bill Gillham, 'Psychology services and problems of adolescent behaviour', in Graham Upton and Alexander Gobell, *Behaviour Problems in the Comprehensive School* (Cardiff: Faculty of Education, University College Cardiff, 1980), p. 159.

[49] Jones-Davies, 'An overview and definition of the problem', p. 15.

[50] Peter Wilson and Virginia Bottomley, 'The emotional climate in the classroom: the interaction between adult teacher and early adolescent students', in Graham Upton and Alexander Gobell, *Behaviour Problems in the Comprehensive School* (Cardiff: Faculty of Education, University College Cardiff, 1980), p. 13.

Apart from the semantic shift and the changes in the meaning of aggression, the main feature of work in the systems vein was a critique of the therapeutic, medicalised model of maladjustment offered by the child guidance clinic. Graham Upton asserted that 'the medical model [of intervention in childhood] has brought with it certain legacies which have limited, and still do limit, our understanding of problems in social and emotional development', favourably citing Thomas Szasz's *Myth of Mental Illness*.[51] This was off-set with a discussion on 'deviance', praising the 'new orientation' on the topic furnished by 1960s sociology.[52] A target of such critiques was often British psychology's supposed over-emphasis on 'individual and family pathology', claimed to be at the expense of the 'social influences such as that of the school'.[53] This social element serves as a reminder that such work did not unreservedly embraced behaviourism, even as it was influenced by it. Upton, for instance, felt that it, too, was a product of the 'medical model' which always located the fault with the child.[54] However, the child-centred perspective that Upton and others offered was undoubtedly influenced in subtle ways by a vulgarised behaviourism – rather in a similar way to the vulgarisation of Freud that underlay the post-war settlement. Specifically, behaviourism influenced how the authors saw aggression or behaviour problems as responses to provocations and inducements. In doing so, it offered the advantage, if expressed in crude terms, of being able to reduce visible and problematic behaviour to the level of stimuli and

[51] Graham Upton, 'The nature and development of behaviour problems', in Graham Upton and Alexander Gobell (eds), *Behaviour Problems in the Comprehensive School* (Faculty of Education, University College Cardiff: Cardiff, 1980), p. 25; Norman Tutt, 'Treatment Under Attack', in Clive Jones-Davies and Ronald G. Cave (eds), *The Disruptive Pupil in the Secondary School* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1976), pp. 87-100.

[52] Upton, 'The nature of development of behaviour problems', p. 26.

[53] Ibid., p. 27.

[54] Ibid., p. 28.

response and consequently avoid understanding it through a moral prism of 'good' and 'bad'. As Upton noted, '[o]nce we begin to see behaviour problems more in terms of problems in living than as disease entities then clearly such problems can be seen as the responsibility of those concerned with the general socialising process'. The 'socialising process' could be controlled to inculcate new behaviours, a central tenet of behaviourism. This vision was an explicitly humanist one, with Upton stating that it was not 'fair' to blame children uniquely, since the school was as much a 'factor in the difficult behaviour of their pupils' as the pupils' own attitudes.[55]

Underneath the behaviourist trend and the critique of a medicalised model for maladjusted children thus lurked a deliberately therapeutic vision of the school, and one that had progressive and child-centred pretensions at that. Gillham's *Problem Behaviour in the Secondary School*, while seeking to 'draw together a theoretical and empirical basis for a system's approach to reducing behaviour problems … as an alternative to the traditional solutions of "treatment" and "placement"', suggested that 'schools themselves are probably the best therapists we have'.[56] Ways in which this could be used and made more child-centred included 'simplifying school rules to [a] clearly specified and well-policed minimum' which 'may well improve the functioning of the school for many more children who do not present overt problems'.[57] The word 'therapy' and its variants were repeated in this piece, allied to the school: 'a particularly effective therapist', Gillham claimed, at 'the level of the individual

[55] Gillham, 'Rethinking the Problem', p. 18.

[56] Ibid., p. 8.

[57] Ibid., p. 24.

child'.[58] 'Therapy' therefore joined 'environment' as part of the more abstract language emerging at this time to describe the school as a process.

Some of the most revelatory aspects of the systems approach to discipline can be found in efforts to visualise the systems themselves. One that was more explicitly centred on adolescence can be found in the records of a DES-sponsored seminar into 'the needs of disruptive pupils', which grew out of the national survey into discipline featured in the previous chapter. A social worker from Birmingham who contributed a paper included the following chart, which was based on a case-study of a fifteen-year-old truant identified as 'Susan' (Fig. 2). Like the thick description of landscapes in Chapter Four, this diagram offered a way of imagining the impact of a cluster of factors and spaces. But it also served to remove the adolescent herself and abstract the processes at work as the observer constituted the subject. In a brief example of thick description to introduce the case behind the image, the social worker noted how:

> Susan comes from a working class [*sic*] family living in the centre of an industrial town. She is the middle child of five siblings and both parents work. The family were known previously to the Department when they were experiencing financial and marital problems.[59]

What is remarkable about the image, however, is that it deprioritises the very biographical elements (albeit mixed with standard 'problem family' rhetoric) foregrounded in the above text. The classroom is instead positioned at the centre, as the main material site of the adolescent's interactions with discipline – all the more ironically, since the example given concerned not a case of violence but of truancy, and consequently absence from that space.

[58] Ibid., p. 16.

[59] TNA, ED 213/24, 'School Council Seminar: the needs of disruptive pupils', papers, Prue Grimshaw, p. 2.

This central rectangle, in which the teacher and pupils exist, is enveloped by further ones, some concentric, others more exclusionary, representing the varied degrees of overlap between the school, institutions and abstract frameworks. The last of these, like a firmament, simply reads ‘Society’; itself, somewhat revealingly, enclosing ‘Community’. The classroom and school are within both of these, but remain foregrounded as a concrete site of social relations, beyond the more abstracted forms. The contemporary commentators examined in this section would undoubtedly have agreed with the form of this as a statement of ‘Susan’s’ interactions.

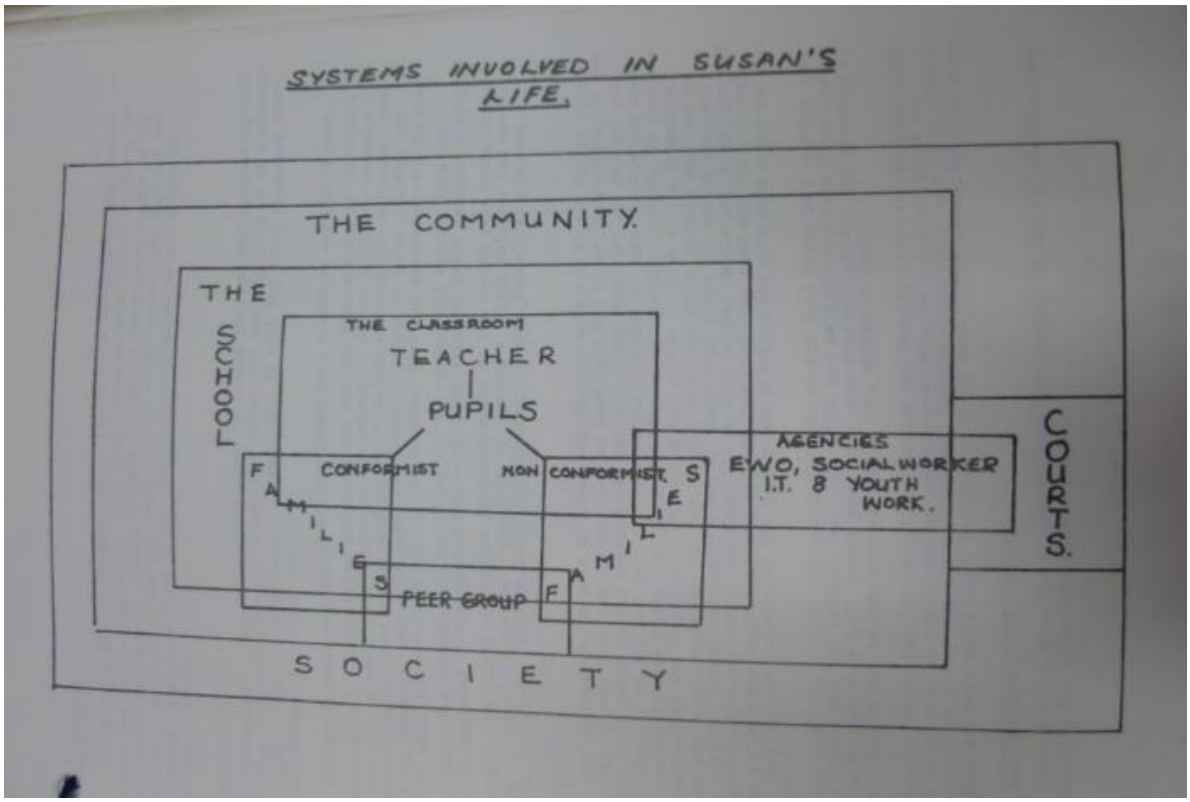

Figure 2 – Diagrammatic representation of ‘Systems involved in Susan’s life’, in ED 213/24, Prue Grimshaw, contribution to ‘Schools Council Seminar: the needs of disruptive pupils’. Author’s reproduction.

‘Systems’ offered one new way to consider problems in what its proponents believed to be a child-centred way. Yet its intellectual and social background, and the nature of its critiques of earlier methods for understanding children implicit within it, frequently supported

a new strand of behaviourism. The ideas promoted by these groups promoted a more abstracted way of understanding the adolescent in the school, and, drawing from Rutter's work on the impact of schooling itself on behaviour, prioritised this over other components of what they identified as the 'environment' of the child. In promoting such approaches, the systems proponents ensured that the language of 'environment' replaced those older, ethnographic discourses of landscape and community. As with Rutter's work, and the diagram above, what emerged was a more abstracted vocabulary, in which the school – not the community – was positioned at the centre. As we shall see with EIDIS, such ambitions were not always translated into practice. Yet EIDIS does provide a useful point from which to take stock of the advancement and limitations of these ideas at the end of the 1980s.

(6.3) The abolition of corporal punishment and EIDIS

(6.3.1) Background to the enquiry

One reason why EIDIS serves as a useful endpoint is because it was established as a consequence of the most substantial 'crisis' in discipline since RoSLA: the sudden end to teachers' rights to employ corporal punishment in 1986. That corporal punishment persisted until this date is the consequence of a long and drawn-out process of renegotiating discipline and the relations (legal and cultural) between teacher and taught which I have described elsewhere.[60] Campaigning against the practice had been active since late 1968, when the pro-abolitionary group STOPP (the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment) was founded. The organisation produced several arguments directed at teachers; often

[60] Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline'.

emphasising the brutality of the practice and foregrounding its sadistic aspects.[61] In 1982, following a judgement from the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) which recognised parental opposition to corporal punishment as a protected philosophical position, the government was forced into legislative action.[62] A series of bills facilitating parental opt-outs from caning were drawn up but roundly rejected by the teaching unions, who now became more firmly committed to abolition as a 'least-worst' option.[63] Most significant in these developments is not that the campaigns over punishment had taken many years, but rather that abolition itself arrived suddenly. This is often the opposite of other national contexts in which official abolition anticipated, in some instances by an entire century, that of Britain, but the practice could continue with tacit approval, or only minor policing from educational authorities, until it fell out of use.[64] The specificity of Britain's abruptness in abolition determined the nature of teacher responses which stressed the absence of a deterrent; looking upon abolition as the lesser of two evils, but hardly as something welcome in disciplinary terms. The context of teachers' concerns at this time was equally marked by changes in the

[61] Peter Newell [with anonymous contributors], *A Last Resort? Corporal punishment in schools* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972); Peter Newell, *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Abolition Handbook* (London: STOPP, undated, [*c*.1979]); and Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment, *Britain's Violent Teachers: a dossier of beating reported to STOPP in 1982* (London; STOPP, 1983).

[62] Dympna Glendenning, *Education and the Law* (Dublin: Bloomsbury, 2012), pp. 433-435.

[63] For government efforts to develop policy that could incorporate the judgement into school practice, see the files and correspondence in: TNA, ED 269/377-378.

[64] In France, for example, the practice was officially prohobited by ministerial decree in 1882, but the *taloche* (slapping or cuffing a child with the hand) remained in use by teachers until the late-1980s and even early 1990s. Krop's work uses disciplinary cases from two French equivalents of the LEA at the end of the nineteenth century to illustrate how what constituted 'corporal punishment' and an acceptable/unacceptable level of force was in fact negotiated between teachers facing disciplinary proceedings, parents and the local administrators. See: Jérôme Krop, 'Punitions corporelles et actes de brutalité dans les écoles primaires publiques du département de la Seine (1880-1914)', *Histoire de l'éducation,* 118 (2008), pp. 109-132.

composition of teaching trades unions themselves, and in their relations with the state. There were a series of amalgamations of such unions in the late 1970s: the NAS and the National Union of Women Teachers merging to form the NASUWT, and the AAM and Assistant Masters Association forming the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (AMMA). A new organisation, the Professional Association of Teachers (PAT), was also founded in 1970. Moreover, around the time of abolition and EIDIS' founding, the NASUWT and NUT were engaged in a lengthy dispute over pay and government reforms, not least the arrival of the national curriculum and school autonomy.[65]

The general-secretary of the NASUWT, Nigel de Gruchy, was particularly active in promoting concern about abolition. He told his NUT counterpart in 1983 that the ECHR judgement had revealed 'an urgent need to relate the problems associated with maintaining school discipline to the demands of a changing world with its differing perceptions of law and order, particularly in regard to disruptive behaviour in schools'.[66] He was keen to point to the dangers of the classroom; and the period after abolition marked a fertile ground for the unions to express these concerns about violence publicly, in a similar way that RoSLA had over fifteen years previously. The NASUWT published a 1986 book on the issue, one of several that appeared around that time and stoked professional concern.[67] In November 1987, over a year after corporal punishment was formally ended, de Gruchy gave a BBC interview

[65] Timmins, *The Five Giants*, pp. 424, 428-430. For contemporary critiques of these measures, see: A new road to serfdom? A critical history of the 1988 Act' and 'My New Right education', in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Education Limited: schooling and training and the New Right since 1979* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1991) pp. 31-113.

[66] Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MSS.292E/815.94/1 Box E151, TUC papers, Letter, Nigel de Gruchy (NAS/UWT) to Roy Jackson (NUT), 10 December 1984.

[67] National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers, *Pupil Violence and Serious Disorder in Schools* (Hemel Hempstead: NASUWT, 1986); and Delwyn P. Tattum (ed), *The Management of Disruptive Pupil Behaviour in Schools* (Chichester: Wiley, 1986).

in which he provocatively claimed that 'it is only a matter of time before a teacher is killed in a classroom'.[68] A similar statement also appeared around the same time from PAT in the *Express* newspaper, the former having joined together with the latter to carry out a survey on the issue which the newspaper could publicise.[69] PAT claimed that 94 per cent of its members supported the view that there had been an increase in indiscipline since abolition, and 86 per cent that there had been an increase in violence. Meanwhile, 32 per cent claimed to have been subjected to a 'physical attack' by a pupil and 80 per cent to verbal abuse.[70] In 1987, three murders had in fact taken place in schools (in Cheshire, Birmingham and Manchester, the latter racially motivated), and these attracted ministerial attention.[71] All of them, however, involved pupil-to-pupil assault and not violence directed at teachers.

DES memoranda and minute sheets indicate that the Department's civil servants did not take the claims too seriously, and regarded PAT as an extreme and unrepresentative union.[72] Indeed, the DES seemed most concerned with contextualising the figures, placing the statistics and murder cases into perspective, and stressing the lack of correlation between type, size and location of school in extreme cases of this nature.[73] PAT's use of survey methodology, and its critique by DES staff, indicate the persistence of the approaches forged

[68] TNA, ED 269/338, Minute, D. A. Wilkinson to Halsey and Stewart, 26 November 1987. I have been unable to trace the precise programme on which this was broadcast, as the DES Minute refers simply to 'BBC News'.

[69] TNA, ED 269/338, Minute, D. A. Wilkinson to Halsey and Stewart, 26 November 1987.

[70] TNA, ED 269/338, Copy of PAT questionnaire 'Violence and Indiscipline in Schools'.

[71] TNA, ED 269/388, Minute, E. J. Bolton to Mr Ulrich, 20 February 1987; Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: racism and educational policy in post-1945 Britain* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), p. 81.

[72] TNA, ED 269/338, Minute, E. J. Bolton to Ms Casbon, 16 December 1987, pp. 2-3.

[73] TNA, ED 269/388, Minute, E. J. Bolton to Mr Ulrich, 20 February 1987.

in the 1970s. But the climate of the 1980s was more heavily mediatised, as PAT's collaboration with a tabloid newspaper emphasises. This mediatisation also involved the influence of audio-visual communications. In the same year as these debates and incidents, and alongside de Gruchy's interview, ITN produced a *World in Action* programme on school violence which was brought to the attention of the Department and the Prime Minister.[74] Thatcher appeared to take a particular interest in the question of discipline, having received a letter from Peter Dawson (the general-secretary of PAT) advocating a public inquiry.[75] The exercise consequently became one of damage limitation for the DES. As one civil servant noted, 'the Prime Minister is sympathetic [to PAT's request] to the point of suggesting a chairman for the inquiry. It would take very strong arguments to change her mind'. Viewing an inquiry as 'inevitable', he suggested that the Department 'should make every effort to influence its status, remit and composition'.[76] The role of prime-ministerial influence here, in addition to that of the media signals a shift in styles of leadership and growing centralisation in education which would culminate in the 'New Right' policies of the 1988 Education Act.[77] This background is important in setting the political tone of the report, and the imagined audience was certainly crucial, as I shall demonstrate, to the process of writing. How EIDIS responded to the systems approaches was governed by these.

[74] TNA, ED 269/338, Minute, D. A. Wilkinson to Mrs Douglas, 15 December 1987.

[75] TNA, ED 269/338, Letter, P. A. Bearpark [Prime Minister's private secretary] to Chris de Grouchy (DES), 2 December 1987.

[76] TNA, ED 269/338, Minute, M McBride to Miss Millett, 7 December 1987.

[77] The media in the 1980s became a particular forum for attempts to raise public consciousness, often in sensationalised or emotive ways, see: Jennifer Crane, 'Painful times: the emergence and campaigning of Parents Against Injustice in 1980s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History,* 26:3 (2015), pp. 450-476; Thane and Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?*, pp. 187-193.

(6.3.2) The Elton Inquiry: methods, findings and the appraisal of 'systems'

EIDIS typifies the systems approaches in several ways, such as its focus on the classroom and privileging of the school as an actor in producing good discipline, and the downplaying of broader, community-based sociological factors in favour of the school. But it also exposed the underlying political motivations behind these. Among the striking aspects of the EIDIS papers are their scope, ambition and scale. While hardly comparable to the quantity of material generated by the 1967 Plowden Report,[78] the EIDIS committee was determined to consider the problem of discipline from as many different facets as possible. These included visits to specific areas of the country, as well as to schools abroad; in the process, drawing upon a wide range of disciplinary perspectives. In the first instance, the inquiry was prepared to critique teachers' efforts to assess the problem. While noting that statistical returns from teachers formed the backbone to many union submissions,[79] they felt that these were 'not based on a structured sample, and all ask leading questions prompting highly subjective answers'.[80] '[I]nevitably', they felt, these attempted studies 'gave a picture of teachers' perceptions rather than any hard facts on the prevalence of violence and indiscipline'.[81] During discussion of a visit made to Tyneside, meanwhile, one of the committee's 'Points of particular interest' was listed as 'the extreme subjectivity of the views expressed by teachers

[78] See the files catalogued in IoE, collection PL.

[79] TNA, ED 269/347, National Union of Teachers, 'Written submission to the Enquiry into Discipline in Schools', July 1988.

[80] TNA, ED 269/346, typescript, 'Summary of written evidence received from teachers' unions', unpaginated front page.

[81] TNA, ED 269/347, typescript, 'Minutes of the fifth meeting', 22 July 1988, p. 3.

at one school'.[82] In the case of racism particularly, the report seemed more alert to the dangers of intercultural misunderstandings. Its research papers included pieces on 'racial harassment' and a briefing paper on 'multi-ethnic issues' which noted the racial imbalance in children 'more likely to be referred to special units'.[83] The committee recorded the view at their meeting that teachers required training to avoid 'misunderstanding non-verbal signals which may escalate disruptive incidents'.[84] In this way, it placed the need for better self-control and classroom awareness on the teacher, and stressed the situationality of any incidents that resulted. Both of these were, as we have seen, cornerstones of the 'systems' approach.

The committee also examined the 'environment' and 'ethos' of the school. This was often through the invocation of Rutter and other writers and academics discussed in the previous section. The discourse of 'ethos' served the committee especially well as a neutral term to fit both progressive and more traditional forms of management alike. One sub-committee report, for instance, noted that, after visits to several schools, 'behaviour correlates more strongly with school ethos than socio-economic factors', which left unanswered what it felt a positive 'ethos' might be.[85] Citing Rutter, an early draft of one section of the report stressed that '[p]upils are not passive receivers of education. They have to participate in their own learning'. This paper acknowledged the existence of 'a "hidden" curriculum which is made up of messages carried by the way in which the institution is run and the relationships between teachers and pupils in it' and noted that children could imbibe the 'negative

[82] TNA, ED 269/330, typescript, 'Minutes of the fourth meeting', 4 July 1988, p. 1.

[83] TNA, ED 269/330, Minute, Alex Sevier to Mrs Masters, 25 August 1988; ED 269/330, Commission for Racial Equality, 'Discipline in Schools', 22 June 1988, p. 1.

[84] TNA, ED 269/330, typescript, 'Minutes of the eighth meeting', 15 September 1988, p. 1.

[85] TNA, ED 269/330, typescript, 'Minutes of the eighth meeting', 15 September 1988, p. 3.

atmosphere' of the school in which they 'are seen as irresponsible beings'.[86] A research and background paper from the school inspectorate, meanwhile, prepared for the committee argued that it was necessary to embrace ethos' slipperiness, with citations to Topping's work.[87] The referencing of these sources indicates the influence on policy that these academics could wield, but it is worth reflecting that their ideas were successful only because the audience of policymakers were receptive to them for instrumental ends.

The reliance on the systems approach, for instance, helped to drive the EIDIS committee's interest in the question of 'liaison' between agencies such as the police, school and social services and its opposition to the over-medicalisation of adolescents.[88] It directly referenced this approach in its discussion of educational psychologists, who it felt should be responsible for the development of the what they termed the 'the "systems" consultancy and psychological awareness training roles' in the LEA.[89] Complementing this was a turn away from landscape and sociological factors more generally and towards a plethora of others. Diet was one of these, reflective of contemporary concerns with hyperactivity and food consumption noted by Matt Smith.[90] On this issue, the committee's secretary, and consequently the committee itself, stressed the lack of 'firm evidence' and remained generally agnostic and cautiously critical. Nevertheless, a reference in the minutes to a

[86] TNA, ED 269/357, typescript, 'Pupils', p. 1.

[87] TNA, ED 269/344, G. A. N. Smith, 'Research on violence and indiscipline in schools: a background note by HMI', April 1988, p. 1.

[88] TNA, ED 269/354, typescript, 'Minutes of the twelfth (residential) meeting', 1 November 1988, p. 3-4.

[89] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'LEAs', p. 35.

[90] Matt Smith, 'Hyperactive around the world?: The history of ADHD in global perspectives', *Social History of Medicine*, 30:4 (2017), p. 776.

'number of people' having 'written in expressing concern' about diet, indicates that it was certainly a widespread, if not necessarily emotive, view.[91]

One significant continuity in EIDIS lay in the figure of the boy as a particular disciplinary concern, but even this employed a framework which was more cognisant of the effects of labelling and the role that institutions and teachers might play in eliciting responses. One committee meeting noted that 'teachers should be aware of gender differences involved in pupil behaviour and avoid reinforcing (by automatic response or, in the case of male teachers, modelling) the attention-seeking and aggressive behaviour patterns often exhibited by boys'.[92] The language used, however, was of learned behaviour; problematising not the environment or culture, but more performative aspects of masculinity.[93] But this gendered dimension was equally related to race, ethnicity and religion. Teachers were exhorted to avoid 'stereotyping certain kinds of pupils (eg Afro-Caribbeans) as troublemakers'.[94] Vital in this regard was an integral part of the systems approach: the teacher's ability to read pupil behaviour and analyse ways of defusing it. An early draft of one section of the report recommended changes to teacher training schemes to 'enhance [student teachers'] social skills in dealing with children by expanding their behavioural repertoire and increasing their awareness of group dynamics'.[95] 'The importance and complexity of the social skills required to manage pupil behaviour effectively', the committee noted, 'should be given equal professional status with specialist knowledge and pedagogical

[91] TNA, ED 269/354, typescript, 'Minutes of the twelfth (residential) meeting', 1 November 1988, p. 4.

[92] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Class, gender and ethnicity', p. 16.

[93] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Parents', p. 29.

[94] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Class, gender and ethnicity', p. 16.

[95] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Initial Teacher Training', p. 1.

skills'.[96] This entire approach sough to emphasise that 'the social skills involved in pupil behaviour management can be learned and taught', and in the process that confrontation and serious discipline was often avoidable.[97] Once again, school was placed at the centre of the system around the adolescent.

The preceding discussion has given some indication of the multiple strands of analysis at work in EIDIS, but also the committee's reliance on systems theories and the academic work of their proponents. The process of forming and writing the report is the most illustrative example of how EIDIS juggled these multiple strands, analyses and meanings in a way that might be both politically and educationally palatable. The committee were alert to how their ideas might be received, by government and by the teaching profession. In this, systems provided a discourse that could seemingly appeal to all sides. One minute notes a debate over the positioning of material in the text, suggesting that '[p]utting the chapter on Teachers at the beginning of section II could have the unfortunate and unintended effect of appearing to pin most blame on them';[98] while yet another section 'should make clear that not all parents confim [*sic*] to the "cereal packet" model of a loving, caring mother and father. In doing this, however, it should avoid being drawn into broad sociological issues beyond the Committee's remit'.[99] As well as stressing key points or recommendations, the debates recorded in the minutes thus indicate the possible directions for interpretation that the committee was determined to close down. Its reference to 'being drawn into broad sociological issues' is reflective of a desire not to be associated too much with what many at

[96] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Classroom management and teacher stress', p. 9.

[97] Ibid.

[98] TNA, ED 269/355, typescript, 'Minutes of the thirteenth meeting', 16 November 1988, p. 2.

[99] Ibid., p. 3.

the time might have seen as a left-wing intellectual agenda. A note attached to this likewise suggested that the phrase 'social skills' (used in an earlier briefing paper and referenced in the preceding paragraph of this section) should be replaced by 'group work skills'. The author wrote warningly and bluntly: 'do not use "social" in report'.[100] The reason for the injunction is unclear, but may be intimated in light of earlier discussions. The need to avoid such terms reflects the limitations to which sociology was itself subjected, after its mid-century moment of authority, at the expense of a more influential brand of behaviourist psychology that, itself, was ostensibly neither of the left nor right.

The scope of the EIDIS committee's remit remained broad. Its breadth provides a snapshot of how disruption, aggression and behaviour problems had come to be perceived by a variety of governmental and non-governmental actors as Britain approached the end of the 1980s. Although EIDIS lacks the stature of the Plowden or Newsom reports, it did attempt to consolidate and collate diverse and interdisciplinary research and serves as a useful end-point for this study. Most significantly, its direct (and favourable) promotion of the 'systems' approach signalled the growth of this approach by the end of the 1980s, serving as a form of official validation for these ideas. In choosing how to make these ideas palatable and presentable to the DES, however, it also demonstrates two things about these approaches. Firstly, that they could be made suitable to a more traditionalist approach to education; and, secondly, that in order to do so they had to be carefully excised of too much sociological influence. The success of systems thus relied on its ability to undermine the social dimension of the psycho-social and reassert the dominance of the mental health sciences.

[100] TNA, ED 269/355, 'Classroom management and teacher stress', p. 9.

(6.4) Conclusion

By the end of the 1980s, models for understanding the behaviour of the working-class adolescent had become situated within a 'systems' approach, which grew alongside the decline of the medicalised solution offered by child guidance and the psychological services. Stewart suggests the 1960s as the moment when the child guidance clinic 'team' model gradual began to fall apart.[101] This chapter, on the other hand, has suggested its continuance into the 1970s – albeit subject to much criticism – and foregrounded the role that behaviourism played in pushing psychology out of its unique therapeutic role and towards being simply one part of a wider potential for therapeutic initiatives within the site of the school. These approaches also provided a language that minimised the discourses around working-class landscapes, reaching its zenith in the hostility to the 'social' observable in the EIDIS papers.

Yet central to this trajectory of the adolescent is a wider story concerning the relationship between behaviourism, progressive education and the politics of disciplinary pedagogies. This should alert us to the directions that earlier iterations of progressive education increasingly took in the 1980s, and potentially beyond into the 1990s and early twenty-first century. Initially intended as part of a progressive edifice (as in Gillham), such pedagogies of discipline stressed more abstract language, conceiving of the adolescent's 'environment'. While underscoring a seemingly more understanding process to school discipline, its innovative use of time, space and classroom to inculcate behaviour opened the door to more governmental methods of control and allowed a new and more subtly coercive pedagogy of discipline to emerge. I return to this theme in more detail in the conclusion to the thesis as a whole, but wish to make clear at this stage that the systems approach, allied to

[101] Stewart, *Child Guidance*, pp. 132-148.

behaviourism, offered a malleable and fluid set of concepts which could be moulded to the polyvalent concerns of the left or the right, progressive or traditionalist. EIDIS, through the politics of its own composition, is especially revealing of this hybrid nature.

In this, the idea of the school-as-system marked a departure, though perhaps not necessarily as total a rupture as its proponents – or historians – might have thought. For Hendrick, the new psychology of this period, characterised by a 'resurgent' behaviourism, promoted concern with a wider 'range of childhood behaviours'.[102] This is in contrast to the earlier, child guidance approach and the idea of 'maladjustment'. But, despite its supporters' protestations, the systems proposals for alleviating behavioural problems (including in-school rehabilitation centres) drew heavily from medico-therapeutic models and vocabularies of behaviour. Moreover, concern with a 'range of childhood behaviours' had already been present since the halcyon days of child guidance itself. Instead, I posit that the real shift is over how those varied behaviours were grounded – or failed to be grounded – in the child's personality or environmental circumstances. The interplay between sociology and psychology was rearticulated in the 1970s by the emergence of a 'systems' approach – not least in favour of a more behaviourist stance to school discipline – but was not totally overcome by it.

[102] Hendrick, *Narcissistic Parenting*, pp. 252-253.

CHAPTER 7:

RECORDING DISCIPLINE: TEACHERS, DISCIPLINE AND LOG-BOOKS

I have briefly used log-books at earlier points in this thesis – mainly to provide evidence of certain practices and their spread throughout localities. In this, their value as aggregated forms of anecdotal evidence is clear, although they remain underutilised by historians.[1] By contrast, in this chapter, I consider them as a body of source material in their own right, complete with certain common tropes and structural conventions. While earlier work has focused on the use of log-books in specific time periods – the end of the nineteenth century, the inter-war period, and the post-war welfare state – I propose to take a more diachronic approach which explores the subtle and significant shifts in the books' use, style and content. This offers a productive opportunity to reflect on teachers' relationships with their pupils in the context of disciplinary pedagogies and the wider social theories about adolescence explored in previous parts of this thesis. Log-books were one way for the headteachers who kept them to practice the kinds of everyday ethnographic observation of adolescent behaviour and development noted in Chapter Four, but they also provide a window onto the broader scope of that ethnography and the subjective, emotional worlds behind it. In this, however, their absences and silences are as important as their explicit content. Evidence of engagement with theory, notices about reorganisation, or attendance at conferences and discussion groups,

[1] For examples of work that has integrated analysis of the log-book, see: Davin, *Growing Up Poor*; Tisdall, 'Education, teachers and the conception of childhood'; Cannadine, et al., *The Right Sort of History*; Wright, 'The work of teachers'; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'; Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being'.

for instance, provide textual supports to judge the historical spread of certain ideas and practices, yet headteachers rarely advance their own interpretations and opinions of these changes.

Because of the nature of the material examined in this chapter, it is subdivided into four sections which are both chronological and thematic, plus a brief historiographical review. After a brief overview of log-books and their place in the wider literature on schools and teacher identities, the second section examines log-books during the Second World War. As an 'unusual moment' for education, which saw schools take on increasing welfare-oriented responsibilities, it provides a case-study to assess the limitations of the books and what they reveal about behaviour and identity in a specific setting.[2] The third section employs the log-book of a Birmingham girls' school from the mid-1950s to highlight how a change of headteacher could impact on the content and form of the book. While arguably another 'atypical' example, it serves to demonstrate the hidden world of staff and community relations that either underpinned or limited the kinds of pedagogies examined elsewhere in this thesis. In the fourth section, I examine concerns about discipline in Brighton and Birmingham during the 1970s, relating them to local factors. Finally, I turn to racial politics in Birmingham between the mid-century and the 1980s, in which the log-books track the emergence of a new subject, the Afro-Caribbean adolescent, as a source of concern. Focusing on changes in the use and form of the book in this diachronic way facilitates an appreciation of a shift in understandings of adolescence. By the Second World War, the book was largely a totalising record, and the needs of the two schools examined – both evacuated with boarding facilities – render this visible. By the post-war period, with concern increasingly

[2] Lawn, 'What is the teacher's job?'. Wright, by contrast, posits a slightly earlier trend towards this, at least in terms of early-twentieth-century welfare work: Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 737-739.

alighting on the landscape, the books abound with more local features. The later records of the 1970s feel more 'dry' and administrative. I contend that this is not simply a sign that the books were losing their importance in favour of other records, although this was certainly happening tangentially, but rather that it reflects a construct of secondary pupils in which a language of social problems (of class and race) predominated. For these reasons, in the final section, I complement the source books with material from the relevant local archival holdings, which reveal the interpolations of social problem discourse in relation to Birmingham's migrant communities.

(7.1) Log-books and teacher identities: an historical outline

As the previous chapters have intimated in their discussion of investigations into the extent and nature of indiscipline, the process of policing adolescent school pupils entailed administrative work that, in some instances, has left an accessible paper trail. The school log-book offers another perspective, highlighting the more quotidian concerns of individual schools. The usefulness of the log-books lies in the fact that their official purpose, and consequently their form, remained relatively stable across most of their existence, although they did evolve quite rapidly during the early 1970s. Schools were first mandated to keep log-books by Board of Education regulations drawn up in 1862. An extract from these rules was often included in the opening cover of the stout volumes produced for the books and these instructed the headteacher to 'enter in it, from time to time, such events as the introduction of new books, apparatus, or courses of instruction, any plan of lessons approved by the Board, the visits of managers, absence, illness, or failure of duty on the part of any of the school staff, or any special circumstances affecting the school that may, for the sake of future

reference or for any other reason, deserve to be recorded'.[3] Nevertheless, these regulations often went on to state that 'the Log Book should contain statements of fact only, and should contain no expressions of opinion on conduct or as to the efficiency of the school'.[4] This, as Wight has noted in her work on log-books at the beginning of the twentieth century, was not always followed, and judgements about parents, pupils and the locality can be found as a consequence.[5] The tensions between these multiple uses (official and unofficial) are reflective of the wider ethnographic trends in observing working-class life over the course of the twentieth-century that have been noted elsewhere in this thesis. The ethnographic components of the text are equally significant for understanding the place of the pedagogy of discipline in these texts. The varied case studies examined in this chapter pinpoint how discipline was understood by these teachers and how it could be embedded in wider institutional strategies.

Such a view is supported by the decline of the log-books at precisely the moment when the statistical models observed in Chapter Five were on the rise and the systems approaches to discipline of Chapter Six were rivalling older psychological and sociological models of behaviour. Most local and national authorities seem to have stopped rigorously enforcing the requirement to keep a book by the mid-1970s, as other forms of filing and digital record-keeping grew in scope, and it is rare to find such document acquisitions in local archives after this date. There is evidence, as in one Brighton girls' school, that there was an

[3] See, by way of an example: BAHPS, S 22/1, Birchfield Road Secondary School, log book, unpaginated inside cover.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 736-738; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work', pp. 161-165; Wright, 'Inside the Black Box? Log books from late nineteenth and early-twentieth century English elementary schools', in Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (eds), *The Black Box of Schooling: a cultural history of the classroom* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang, 2011), p. 123.

explicit policy in this direction, with a new book (begun in 1975) observing that '[t]his log-book will be used for the recording of significant events and innovations in the life of the school. Records of staff absences are kept separately by the Deputy Headmistress'.[6] Yet there is no direct suggestion that this was the result of a circular or official order. Nonetheless, the shift, coinciding with RoSLA and reorganisation, indicates how reorganisation could reshape certain school practices and traditions. In the same way, the earlier period of reorganisation and expansion after the Second World War, with subject teaching increasingly the preserve of specialists, also altered the books. There are fewer instances of headteachers recording curricular changes – or 'innovations' in the wording of the old regulations. Moreover, the Brighton example noted above hints at the fact that a key rationale behind the maintenance of a log-book was the policing not solely of pupils and working-class communities but of the teaching profession – and headteachers specifically – by providing evidence that schools were spending the education rates wisely. As Wright observes, this accountability at the beginning of the century was largely to middle-class ratepayers and not school users.[7] Other means of achieving that kind of oversight were in place by the 1970s.

The impetus to include noteworthy events in the history of the school, contained in the 1862 Code, offered the greatest scope to use the book to articulate a sense of identity and impose a more individual stamp on the records. This was often employed to express consciousness of the school's position in the community or its role in the delivery of local welfare and efforts at reform, as both Wright and Barron have noted across the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[8] It could equally be used to situate the school in

[6] ESRO, ESC/294/1/3, Knoll County Secondary Girls' School, log book, undated entry at beginning of book.

[7] Susannah Wright, 'Inside the Black Box?', p. 121.

[8] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community', pp. 164-166; Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 737-738; Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being', p. 143.

significant moments of national importance. In one Birmingham log book, for instance, the 1918 Armistice was marked with a brief entry on poor attendance owing to the 'consequence of commencing excitement on the Armistice Signing'. The following page was intentionally left blank and filled with the words 'Peace!' (in large, exclamative letters) and 'Thank God!'.[9] The euphoria, coupled with a sense of deliverance, is inscribed in the material layout and form of the book itself; demonstrating how the book was able to become a means for personal expression, something that we shall see specifically in the third section.

Ulterior or parallel uses such as these were predicated on how the book was composed as a text, and on the processes of reading and writing that constituted it. Reading the log-books as a historical researcher – as someone looking for information on specific topics but, in the absence of an index, forced to read through all of the material – produces an odd effect. The passing, annual lives of the institution mean that we 'consume' its history in aggregate; with all of the resulting, and almost litanical, repetitions (holidays, closures for winter snow, religious services for special occasions) in content and vocabulary. In some respects, the cyclical nature and structure of the log books may recall the narrative forms of Croft and Blishen, which use a similar effect of treating the school as a lifecycle to explore its rhythms over the course of one, or several, years. Yet, like a diary, this kind of consumption is quite similar to what the author originally intended. On the one hand, this is for the basic administrative reason that log-books were official records of life in a school. Unlike a personal reflective piece, the log-book therefore had a potentially very real reader in the form of the school inspector who could police its contents. On the other, and as Steedman notes, it is the idea of imagining 'someone like' the historian reading it, that allows us to read the books against the grain, to ask what they withhold as well as what they include and

[9] BAHPS, S 269/4/1, Station Road Boys' Department, log book, 11 November 1918.

consequently read it for a fashioning of the teacher's self in relation to their locality and their pupils.[10] This is why it is most productive to begin a discussion of the adolescent in the log book through an analysis of how it articulated relationships between teacher and taught in circumstances that were unusual and consequently in which the book was used outside of the norm.

(7.2) Gendering a pedagogy of discipline during wartime evacuation

The first two examples are the log-books of two 'camp schools', established by the Birmingham Education Committee in the neighbouring county of Staffordshire during the Second World War. The schools' role was to provide an evacuation service to parents who did not want to send their senior-school-age children to host families. The headmistress of the girls' school, Pipewood, included the text of several letters in her log-book, claiming that she used them to communicate with parents back in the city, and these abound with bucolic imagery from which any discussion of discipline is notably absent. '[W]e have lived out of doors', she notes in one, '[t]he girls have wandered freely in the woods', participating in games, church services and village fêtes.[11] Similarly, she wrote that 'we shall not be

[10] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 30. See also: James Hinton, *Nine Wartime Lives: Mass-Observation and the making of the modern self* (Oxford: OUP, 2010); Antonio Viñao, 'Teachers' egodocuments as a source of classroom history', in Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (eds), *The Black Box of Schooling: a cultural history of the classroom* (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 141-157. Lawn, meanwhile, has analysed actual teacher diaries from the Second World War: Lawn, 'What is the teacher's job?'.

[11] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School for Evacuated Girls of B'ham, Blithbury, Rugeley, Staffordshire [hereafter 'Pipewood Camp School'], log book, handwritten note from headmistress to 'Parents and Friends of Pipewood Girls', inserted in early pages.

Pipewood School Camp during the holidays but Pipewood Holiday Camp […] Parents would be most welcome during this time, [and] could share the beauty of the country with us'.[12]

Yet a converse story emerges if the books are read for what is not stated explicitly. The criticisms offered by this headmistress were of a material nature and directed to the authorities – such as 'inadequate ventilation' or access to 'drinking water'[13] – but also against parents. The communications to mothers and fathers, while often extolling the virtues of the rural environment and healthy air, also chastised them for perceived deficiencies in dealing with their daughters' schooling. In her first letter, the headmistress entreated them to 'please not worry if girls write saying they have been ill', asserting both the girls' apparent tendency for hypochondria as well as their capacity for mood swings. When their daughters, she wrote:

> write saying they are homesick or unhappy, write and ask me before you feel anxious. Girls are frequently up and down in their feelings. After writing and telling you how unhappy she is, half an hour later your daughter is enjoying herself in games or at the tuck shop![14]

The girls' behaviours were here connected to their emotional development and characterised as erratic, the successors to the trends in girl health from the earlier part of the century identified by Marland.[15] Yet the headmistress also saw her own understanding of this as superior to that of the parents. Her letter indicates that she was concerned that the latter would either misinterpret their daughters' emotions or, worse still, possibly act upon the information their daughters supplied. Indeed, for all of her protestations that parents should

[12] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, letter to parents, 22 July 1940, inserted in pages with entries for this date. (Emphasis in original.)

[13] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, 11 June 1940 and 27 June 1940.

[14] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, handwritten note from headmistress to 'Parents and Friends of Pipewood Girls', inserted in early pages.

[15] Marland, *Health and Girlhood*, pp. 21-35.

maintain regular correspondence with their daughters, her main difficulty seems to have been parents arriving suddenly at the camp and removing their daughters back to Birmingham without authorisation.[16] In this way, the headmistress drew attention to how parents and pupils were misusing the school, but also sought to position herself as central to the child's welfare. It was through her, as a conduit of information, that all confidential news had to pass.

If relations with parents were an issue for the girls, in the boys' camp school, Shooting Butts, it was often the young men themselves who were constructed as the problem. The headmaster noted the strain on the camp's resources as greater numbers of boys were admitted in successive waves of evacuation, including 135 admitted in November 1940 alone.[17] This was often accompanied by high levels of absconding, which unlike the girls' seemingly changeable behaviour, was never directly accounted for in the book through reference to gendered conceptualisations of adolescent development. Only occasionally are such causes suggested in veiled suggestions of the boys' homesickness or unhappiness. The absconding began with an unspecified number of '[s]everal boys' who tried to '"run away"' in November 1942, but became a recurring feature of the log book, specifically after each new intake.[18] The recordings of these incidents sometimes contained explicit and implicit judgements about the boys, but these were usually limited to vague descriptions as 'very backward child[ren]'.[19]

[16] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, letter to parents, 6 May 1941.

[17] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 26 November 1940.

[18] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 6 July 1940, 30 November 1940 and 22 February 1941, 4 January 1942, 3 February 1942 and 6 February 1942.

[19] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 3 February 1942.

What appears striking across both schools is the implicit suggestion, never addressed by either headteacher, that the children (and their parents) may often have had different understandings of the camp and its aims. One of two boys who ran away in February 1941 and succeeded in taking the train to Birmingham told Shooting Butts' headmaster that 'his mother gave him his fare home in case he did not like the Camp'.[20] In a further case, the head noted disapprovingly that '[m]ost of the parents whose children were not allowed to go home came and fetched them away'.[21] As many as 28 boys absconded, or else appeared to avail themselves of their parents' desire to withdraw them, in the month of May 1942 alone. The headmaster's disapproving view that '[n]o reasons have been given except that these boys "want" to go home' indicates his view that the authority of the camp staff had to be absolute over that of the home, urging parents 'both from their own, and their children's, points of view to … support us by maintaining their decisions to keep the children here for a reasonable period'.[22] By contrast, the children and parents clearly viewed the separation as only temporary, or conditional upon the former's response to the organised life of the school. Read against the grain, these incidents suggest misunderstandings about the purpose of the school and the pedagogical ideas that underlay it. If the adolescent boys did not like the camp, it might also hint at their opposition to certain aspects of life that were unregistered in the log books. As Gleason notes in her case-study of rural correspondence schooling, there is much here that can only be the subject of speculation or 'empathic inference'.[23]

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[20] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 23 February 1941.

[21] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 31 May 1941.

[22] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 11 May 1942.

[23] Mona Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap: caveats for historians of children, youth and education', *History of Education*, 45:4 (2016), p. 449.

If the relationship with the parents was different in the two schools, the boys, too were often described in markedly divergent ways to their female counterparts. Shooting Butts' log-book records far more incidents of a behavioural nature, such as the absconding. There were also more written complaints of problematic, but not necessarily disciplinary, behaviours such as bed-wetting.[24] These did apparently lead to a change in the camp routine and the offering of more extracurricular activities, including 'interest groups' in which 'age and the usual, mental classification are to be no bar to the individual choice', a sign of a shift to a more overtly progressive pedagogy of discipline.[25] Air raids, by contrast, were more likely to be mentioned in the Pipewood book, despite the two schools being a mere few miles apart and likely to be affected to an identical extent.[26] The girls' school was also more likely to record the emotional toll of the air raids on the children, as in the following example of thick description of the air-raid shelter sleeping arrangements:

> Girls sleep 5, or 6 if small girls, across two beds. Some mistresses sleep on a bed, underneath the girls, others on camp beds in one division meant for a lavatory, some on two mattresses on the floor. Thanks to their dormitory training, few girls get up at night for the lavatories. All the staff expressed great relief at this arrangement, as when the warning sirens go, at about 10pm, girls are safely in the shelters. The girls themselves mostly like the arrangement, believing it to be Air Raid Practice. The nearness of danger has always been kept from them, as even when aroused in the night, they have believed it to be 'Practice'.[27]

[24] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 25 November 1942.

[25] Ibid.

[26] I have not been able to trace the exact locations of the two schools, but references in both log-books to towns and geographical features would appear to suggest that they were located on opposite sides of the town of Rugeley, near Cannock Chase.

[27] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, 1 September 1940.

The absence of such a description in the case of the boys' school should not necessarily be taken as evidence that concern with the emotional or psychological effects of war was considered relevant, nor that similar efforts to alleviate it were not forthcoming. Crucially, however, the male teachers did not feel the need to write nor justify their emotional work with the boys in the same explicitly rationalised framework as their female counterparts. While this makes it more difficult to reconstruct the motivations behind changes to school routine, it does suggest that male pedagogies of discipline did conform to Tisdall's 'craft' status; subject to convention and custom rather than codified or placed into an, at least directly, defined emotional framework of relationships.[28] These processes of gendered difference are compounded by war conditions and the distance from the city authorities, both of which obliged the two headteachers to include a level of detail that is certainly greater than that in most city-based and unevacuated schools, and far greater than that generally found in log-books from the post-war period. The recording of wartime log books was, in general, highly sporadic, as schools were disrupted, commandeered and subject to high staff turnovers.

It is also revealing, in this regard, that only the headmistress of Pipewood entered and inserted her newsletters to parents in the volume. This illustrates a difference in the general tone and material organisation of the two log-books, but also how they used paratextual supports and other aspects of school organisation to promote an image of the place. Pipewood's book likewise opens with a press cutting from the *Birmingham Mail* of 14 August 1940, glued into the first page.[29] Extolling the 'miracle of new health being wrought

[28] Tisdall, 'Teachers, education and conceptions of the child', p. 40; Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 491.

[29] BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, press cutting from *Birmingham Mail*, 'Kiddies in camp. Birmingham's two boarding schools. Rural environment', attached to first page.

every week at Rugeley', the article was a deliberate attempt to proselytise for the camp on behalf of the Education Committee; a view supported by the log-book's own record that the journalistic visit was at the express wish of the Chief Education Officer, undoubtedly hoping to publicise the camp among parents.[30] The cutting was also accompanied by several photographs glued into the book, giving it the feel of a scrapbook. Shooting Butts school log book, by contrast, lacks this feel. It contains no images, no lavish descriptions and no newspaper cuttings. This is despite the journalist's article indicating that he had visited and observed children at both schools.

These records of extramural activities, coupled with the description of life in the school, support an analysis of teachers' welfare work immediately before and during the war years, in which schools became totalising sites for providing care, food and emotional support to children.[31] [32] This was even more so in the case of the camp schools, in which adults and children had to live together. But I would also suggest that this view must be nuanced with an awareness of gender's role in developing such progressive pedagogies of discipline, not least in terms of how teachers rationalised these through their official records. If male teachers provided something akin to parental care alongside their presumed disciplinary role they did not choose to articulate or reflect on this, at least through the medium of the log-book.

[30] See: BAHPS, S 147/1, Pipewood Camp School, log book, 13 August 1940.

[31] Lawn, 'Teachers, work and welfare'; Hussey, 'The school air-raid shelter'; Gardner and Cunningham, 'Oral history and teachers' professional practice'.

[32] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work', pp.164-166; Wright, 'The work of teachers', pp. 737-738; Barron, 'Parents, teachers and children's well-being', pp. 148-150.

(7.3) Log-books as personal and mediating documents in the landscape of post-war Birmingham

Log-books, as I have noted, had a real reader who could be imagined and addressed during the writing process, and with whom, in Wright's words, there was a capacity for 'shared assumptions' with the headteacher.[33] Most often, this was the inspector; either a local district one (appointed by the LEA) or a Board- or Ministry-appointed HMI. These imagined audiences offer a window onto how the headteacher constructed their own position as a mediator between school managers and teaching staff. Sometimes they saw their alliances closer to the former, and sometimes to the latter. The 'knowing', confidential voice in which some entries appear might suggest an attempt to construct relationships of solidarity and confidence between headteachers and their superiors. Positioning the writer and the reader in a continuum meant that the log-book could equally be used as a personal, self-reflective document. Wright notes the ability to use it for something akin to 'psychotherapy' and catharsis.[34] The teacher who expressed jubilation at the 1918 Armistice might be read in this way. So, too, might the 1920s headmaster who noted his own absence 'owing to [the] death of his beloved father, who passed away at his residence yesterday, after a series of distressing seizures'.[35] The level of personal and medical detail was, of course, unnecessary in purely administrative terms, unless it equally provides an attempt to reach out to the empathy of an imagined reader, albeit while maintaining a strangely distancing description of the self in the third-person. One area of personal concern for teachers, as we have already seen, was discipline and the maintenance of order. And this was especially so for headteachers

[33] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work', p. 160. See also: Steedman, *Dust*, p. 30.

[34] Wright, 'Inside the Black Box?', p. 125.

[35] BAHPS, S 222/1, Yardley Wood Council (County) School (Boys), log book, 25 October 1926.

concerned with a high turnover of staff, often in schools in deprived areas which formed part of the problematised post-war urban landscape. One highly rare, and unusual, example of this concerns a Birmingham girls' school in the late 1950s.

In July 1956, the headmistress of the secondary-modern Bloomsbury Girls' School resigned followed a prolonged absence of two years during which she appears to have suffered with a serious, though unspecified, illness.[36] During this time, her functions were exercised by one of her deputies. The arrival of her successor, appointed from outside, signalled a shift in the feel and tone of the book. The entries became longer, more ponderous, and often contained judgements, sometimes rather wistful, on the nature of the adolescent girls themselves. The new headmistress regularly noted the girls' responses to her own initiatives to combat lateness or contraventions of the dress regulations:

> In the Annexe one lunchtime Head Teacher counted no less than 48 girls late – they seemed quite surprised by Head Teacher's concern. […] Head Teacher now beginning to realise that the girls are very willing and responsive – but there is a general lifelessness about the place. One class, 3_3, were at games in the yard, in the Annexe, with only <u>one</u> child changed for PT. Girls' again surprised by Head Teacher's concern. […] Head Teacher amazed by number of girls wearing "fancy" ear-rings, and equally surprised by the fact that all the girls have removed them on being asked to do so…[37]

These extracts, which are worth quoting at length, in fact constitute part of a single and continuous entry, running over several pages. Its meandering form – almost reminiscent of a stream of consciousness – renders the headmistress' thought processes explicit as she attempts to acclimatise to the school, its people and its environment. This was not simply

[36] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 20 July 1956.

[37] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 1 October 1956.

thick description in Geertz's sense of a text which allows implicit cultural processes to be read, but rather a more explicit rendering of the headmistress' attitudes and behaviours. This is highly unusual in the context of other log-books that I have examined. These commentaries did not simply target pupils, but also staff. She revealed that:

> The running of the school is further handicapped by the fact that there is considerable bad feeling on the part of several members of the staff. This is much too bad to ignore – and affects most of the staff in various ways, even those not involved. Head Teacher very concerned, but determined to do all possible to overcome this bad feeling, particularly as two of the staff most concerned are the Chief Assistant and the 2nd Post of Responsibility, both splendid workers in their own way.[38]

These examples show a teacher attempting to settle into a school and using the book as a personal diary to pause and reflect on her lack of inclusion in the school processes. On one occasion she bemoans the fact that the classes 'were allocated before' her appointment.[39] On another that 'no parents seem to visit this school', which made her 'rather surprised – there is usually a glut of parents when a new Head Teacher is appointed'.[40] There are hints, too, that her Chief Assistant felt betrayed by the outside appointment to the headship, having been responsible for the school during the previous headmistress' absence. This reached its apogee in the entry from the beginning of October 1956 noted above, in which the grammatical slippage from the disembodied third-person voice of the administrative record and into the first-person of the diary is also noticeable:

[38] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 30 September 1956.

[39] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 30 September 1956.

[40] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 1 October 1956.

> After one month (approximately) at Bloomsbury School the Head Teacher would like to record that in spite of all the "grumbles" listed here – the girls are likeable, and responsive and kind, although rather apathetic – the staff are individually very likeable, but collectively – "difficult". There is very little "School Spirit" in evidence, and no sign of any clubs or "outside activities" to cater for the hobbies and interests of the girls. […] [The Chief Assistant] seems very bitter and unhappy and it is difficult to know how to help her at the moment. […] [M]y predecessor, a most gifted woman and universally liked, it would seem, has been ill for two years. I hear she is most critically ill at the present time and must try to visit her if she is able to see me, I have never met [her] but have heard much about her.[41]

This was all the more poignant an entry, as news of the previous headmistress' death reached the school the following day.[42] The new headmistress' continual return to the figure of her predecessor articulates her own concerns with establishing an individual identity whilst maintaining continuity. But the older figure likewise demonstrates how the staff invoked the weight of that tradition to respond to, and seemingly resist, newer pedagogical initiatives.

What emerges forcefully, and perhaps surprisingly, in this case is the headmistress' sense of liminality and relative powerlessness between the parents and pupils, the community itself and its own standards of discipline, the teaching staff, and the LEA. This impression of the headteacher is supported in other representations from the same period; not least in the novels of Blishen and Croft, where the headteachers appear as marginal figures even within their own schools and, in *Spare the Rod* specifically, are supportive but ultimately fail to save the protagonist from a climactic feud with a colleague. The 'difficulties' evoked by the Bloomsbury headmistresses with her staff reflect this. Another instructive example is offered

[41] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 1 October 1956. This quotation has been edited slightly to remove references to named individuals.

[42] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 2 October 1956.

in the way in which the headmistress discusses an exchange with a visiting HMI. The headmistress notes with approval the HMI's belief that more 'specialisation' was needed in the curriculum but appeared to take particular, and perhaps premeditatedly cathartic, relief in explaining that 'the obstacles' to this were:

> a) the class teacher, over 60 yrs old and very anxious not to have any specialisation in her class, b) the fact that for many years she had succeeded in having her way in this matter and is rather a difficult person – refusing to cooperate with other members of staff, … never entering the staff room, and refusing to share apparatus.

She concluded by noting that the HMI 'was rather surprised at the amount of private feuds amongst the staff'.[43] The self-congratulatory tone of this, but equally its conspiratorial feel of confidences exchanged, suggest an imagined effort to construct a bond between headmistress and inspector. But it is impossible to tell how successful this was; and it was, of course, ultimately the headmistress alone (not her interlocutor) who would continue to face the daily reality of her uncooperative staff and misbehaving girls.

In this school the headmistress employed the log book in a highly reflective way, more akin to a personal diary. The 'feuds' to which she referred were related to her own crisis of authority. I posit that these are related to the pedagogy of discipline that the new headmistress sought to produce. The log-book was another way to achieving this, by reflecting on developments, but equally in controlling the representation of the school's problems. This log-book indicates another form of 'state-sponsored autobiography', to employ Steedman's term; one produced by those charged with running the sites where

[43] BAHPS, S 29/1, Bloomsbury Girls' School, log book, 9 November 1956.

adolescents were to learn.[44] This theme of the log-book as diary is undeveloped here precisely because it is so unusual to find an example such as this, but, as far as discipline and attempting to integrate it within the structure of the school is concerned, the log-book could provide a vital technology of the self for the headteacher.

(7.4) Pupils' voices and behaviours: the log-book and discipline in the 1970s

Scholars of log-books have noted how mentions of specific children are because of their 'exceptionality', either positive or negative.[45] It is to these descriptions of specific behaviour incidents that we now turn our attention. One example is in the Shooting Butts log-book which referred to a 'backward' absconder who wrote a letter claiming that he was being 'starved', something denied by the headmaster.[46] The epistle is not reproduced, however, and the voice consequently exists at one remove. In the case of discipline, it is frequently the authoritative but disembodied 'voice' of the headteacher who comments on and ascribes meaning over the voices of the pupils, and this can be observed in the following examples from Birmingham and Brighton in the late 1970s, both occurring more or less contemporaneously. These incidents took place at a time in which new forms of record-keeping in schools often rendered the log-book superfluous. This did not lead to its total demise, however. In many respects, it continued as a more explicitly 'disciplinary' book;

[44] Carolyn Steedman, 'State-sponsored autobiography', in Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters (eds), *Moments of Modernity: reconstructing Britain 1945-1964* (London: Rivers-Oram Press, 1999), pp. 41-54.

[45] Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work', p. 160.

[46] BAHPS, S 182/1, Shooting Butts Senior Boys' Camp School, log book, 3 February 1942.

mirroring the decline in the use of corporal punishment (and the attendant punishment book) and providing a space in which poor behaviour could be recorded and analysed.[47]

The Stanley Deason High School, briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, was opened in Brighton in September 1975 through the amalgamation of two single-sex schools. From its beginning, it appeared to have had a troublesome element among the pupils, as well as a chronic shortage of staff.[48] The first suspension occurred a mere two days after its opening,[49] but the book nonetheless recorded 'an optimistic attitude and awareness that a new school has opened'.[50] In this school, the log book quite rapidly became a disciplinary book, used to record all manner of incidents.[51] The main issue, however, appears to have been a case of pupil protest. This was a growing concern at the period, and the Headmasters' Association (HMA) maintained a file of correspondence on the question of what some termed 'pupil power' emerging in the 1960s to resist the pedagogy of discipline itself: corporal punishment, uniforms and examinations.[52] In the case of Stanley Deason, the main incident related to this occurred during September 1976 in which:

[47] See earlier arguments about corporal punishment. Log-books from the borough of Dudley, which I examined as part of an earlier research project, indicate that the practice did persist in secondary schools well into the 1970s: Burchell, 'An "educational" or "parental" relationship', pp. 66-68.

[48] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 2 September 1975.

[49] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 4 September 1975.

[50] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 3 September 1975.

[51] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 8 September 1975, 9 September 1975, 10 September 1975, 19 September, 25 September 1975, 30 September 1975, 1 October 1975, 6 October 1975, 10 October 1975, 2 December 1975, 19 December 1975.

[52] See the file of correspondence: MRC, MSS.58/3/13/6, Headmasters Association papers.

> About 60 upper school pupils stayed out after dinner and went to field opposite lower school saying they were striking. They were brought in by HM to school, talked to about the whole matter which centred round the abolition of afternoon break and a punishment arranged. It is clear that extreme elements camping near the school to lobby the TUC had been involved.[53]

The reporting of this foregrounds both localised dangers – the popularity of Brighton as a place for political meetings and conferences – but also wider fears about adolescents and political activism. The attempt to strip away agency; the assumption that the pupils were led-astray, is particularly notable here, and the incident's resolution, with its stress on the 'punishment' as a means of catharsis, reads as a return to a stable norm. These incidents were understood by headteachers as part of a wider discourse in the 1970s, observed in earlier chapters, as an era marked by permissiveness, greater political violence and social problems. Within this context, the log-book once again served as a way of controlling the representation of adolescents, their voices, and any behavioural incidents. In the earlier case, the protest concerned break times. In an ironic twist, another walk-out incident occurred two years later, this time against the closure of the school. This was reported thus:

> Pupil demonstration concerning closure not diminished. Evening Argus appear – pupil rings Argus and asks them not to print article this is ignored. During afternoon about 10 pupils go to Area Education Office to protest – no trouble.[54]

> More pupils involved. Police have to be called [as] behaviour outside lower school gives cause for concern.[55]

[53] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 8 September 1976.

[54] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 13 November 1978.

[55] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 14 November 1978.

This is especially revealing for the fact that the head, once again, explicitly denied that the conditions were those of a 'strike', even going so far as to label the participants as 'truants' in a later entry.[56] The protests did, gradually, fade and two final entries note simply: 'Improvement = attendance'[57], and, finally, 'Things much quieter'.[58]

For the headteacher in question, these behaviours were directly connected to political developments and movements yet, somewhat paradoxically, there was a refusal to define them as political in order to refuse the pupils legitimacy. In Brighton, there had been several issues with political groups lobbying schools, often implicating pupils as political agents. It suited the headteachers to present them as influenced and led astray, particularly in the context of the demands being made. In some instances, the impetus for these came as much from the town's College of Education, and therefore intending teachers, as its university population. The headmaster of a secondary modern school told a staff meeting that he had 'written to the College of Education and the [Education] Office deploring the [political] letter which had been handed out in school'.[59] A grammar school head, meanwhile, complained that the 'Student Action group from Brighton College of Education had distributed literature in the school. It seemed that the object of the group was to make pupils assert their rights and privileges within the school community'.[60] Among groups which distributed such material

[56] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 15 November 1978.

[57] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 17 November 1978.

[58] ESRO, BH/F/1/4/1, Stanley Deason High School, log book, 20 November 1978.

[59] ESRO, ESC 197/2/1, Stanmer Secondary Modern School, minutes of staff meetings, third book, 2 March 1970.

[60] ESRO, 296/3/1, Westlain Grammar School, Minutes of Board of Governors, 13 March 1970.

were the Young Socialists, with reports of schools being 'badly criticised'.[61] The Queen's Park school, out of which Stanley Deason was formed, recorded that a group from its female annex had 'truanted' in order to 'join [a] demonstration with Whitehawk Girls' outside the Education Office in central Brighton.[62] A few months later, copies of a newsletter entitled *Rebel* were distributed in the street after school finished.[63] The adolescent, especially those approaching the end of their school-lives, were therefore positioned as figures who could resist discipline and take on a political role.

A similar pupil walk-out occurred in Birmingham in March 1978 as a result of industrial action by several teaching unions. In working to contract, union members refused any ancillary duties, including dinner and breaktime supervision, which resulted in the provision of meals being temporarily suspended.[64] The pupils' anger at this can be found in the following entry, where the headteacher notes that 'At 10:45am, a large number of pupils left the premises as a protest against the cessation of school meals, they remained outside the gates for the rest of the morning. Attendance in the afternoon was very low with a crowd outside the school gates, dispersing at 3:30pm'.[65] As in Brighton, the pupils sent a 'deputation' (the head's words) to the city's Education department 'to protest'.[66] After the

[61] ESRO, ESC 27/3/7, Queen's Park Secondary School, log book, 14 October 1971, 21 October 1971.

[62] ESRO, ESC 27/3/7, Queen's Park Secondary School, log book, 23 May 1972.

[63] ESRO, ESC 27/3/7, Queen's Park Secondary School, log book, 25 September 1972.

[64] BAHPS, S 224/2, Yardley Wood Secondary Modern School, log book, 13 March 1978.

[65] BAHPS, S 224/2, Yardley Wood Secondary Modern School, log book, 14 March 1978.

[66] BAHPS, S 224/2, Yardley Wood Secondary Modern School, log book, 15 March 1978.

Chief Education Officer ordered the reintroduction of a meals service, albeit reduced owing to lack of personnel, it was recorded that 'School [is] back to normal with few absentees'.[67]

Both incidents are reported in short entries, and the heads were not keen to acknowledge that the conditions were, in effect, those of a strike or boycott. The problem was conceived as one of discipline, and the wider meanings or legitimate concerns behind the behaviour were elided. Shifts in the use of form and language in the books thus allowed a more negative picture of the adolescent as a dangerous figure – one capable of political agency – to emerge within these records during this time. But this occurred alongside a growing brevity of entries, as the log book declined as the main register of school life to the point that only the truly exceptional was mentioned. This is even to the point that full sentences and notes are used instead of continuous prose.

(7.5) Racial politics and adolescent behaviour: Birmingham, *c.*1955-1982

If anxieties in Brighton coalesced around a working-class adolescent, this was one who was predominantly unracialised. The loci of attention by the 1970s were shifts in youth culture in the coastal resort over the previous decade. There were examples of local flavour in headteachers' and administrators' invocations of a seaside resort, with seasonal economic and employment patterns, and opportunities for deviant leisure, such as amusement arcades or loitering, situated within the ludic fabric of the urban setting.[68] Although immigration was discussed as early as 1958 at one of Brighton's 'pupil conferences' (which were more

[67] BAHPS, S 224/2, Yardley Wood Secondary Modern School, log book, 15 March 1978, 16 March 1978.

[68] On the subject of youth and coastal resorts, see: Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011 [1972]).

initiatives in citizenship education than sites of serious discussion) it does not appear to have been a local concern in policy terms.[69] By contrast, Birmingham was a large industrial city with ample job opportunities for mobile labour, and immigration became a more contentious issue here in general political, and educational policy, terms especially. Like healthcare, education was a public service whose efficacy could be affected by unexpected demographic shifts and was equally amenable to mobilisation as a highly emotive issue in campaigning.[70] Grosvenor identifies the concentration of newly-arrived populations in specific localities of the city and a hostile local political climate to migration in the Midlands as the key issues affecting Birmingham in this period, alongside contentious election campaigns and the rise of the National Front.[71] Connell has likewise noted increasing tensions over the politics of representation in Birmingham's diverse ethnic community, but equally the complexities and resilience of those groups.[72] This narrative is worth bearing in mind as a counter-point to the administrative concerns examined below. Several unions, including the AAM, took an interest in immigration and education.[73] The image of black teenagers especially, often referred to as 'youths' in an interesting racialisation of the term, reveals one way in which the models of adolescence inherited from the inter-war years and the even earlier work of Hall and Slaughter – based as it was on a middle-class vision of puberty – had to be realigned to new social realities in post-war Britain.

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[69] ESRO, ESC 197/1/1, Stanmer Secondary Modern School, log book, 3 December 1958.

[70] Roberta Bivins, *Contagious Communities: medicine, migration and the NHS in post-war Britain* (Oxford: OUP, 2015).

[71] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, pp. 50-55, 98-115.

[72] Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth'.

[73] 'Race relations and immigrants in education', *Journal of the Association of Assistant Mistresses*, 24:2 (1973), pp. 47-51.

What emerges most strongly in headteachers' concerns is ambivalence about the effects of migration on the pedagogy of discipline. The headmaster of one school in the Handsworth area (in the west of the city), for instance, recorded meetings with other school leaders and the education directorate in his log book concerning what was variously described as 'the growing nuisance of coloured youths' and the 'disruptive element among the coloured youths'. This included the fear that they were 'being encouraged by, Black Power'.[74] Significantly, then, behaviour was conceptualised in racial terms, but related to wider political organisation, as noted in the previous section. Yet by the time of this headteacher's retirement just over a year after these entries, he felt able to record in his final log-book entry that, despite 70 per cent of the school being composed of what he termed 'immigrant' children:

> all who have worked here have learnt in a very practical way that people from different nations with different cultures & different religious beliefs can live together in true harmony. The Martin Luther King Dream has, in this school, been a reality.[75]

The optimism of this entry would appear to suggest an instrumentalisation of discourses around migration, presenting it alternately as problem and benefit depending on the objective. Headteachers' attention, as the 'Black Power' case above illustrates, also brought migration and behaviour into dialogue, especially when this was articulated through a cultural lens which privileged 'assimilation' over multi-culturalism.[76] This was the case in the above

[74] BAHPS, S 44/3, Canterbury Road Mixed Secondary Modern School, log book, 3 May 1971, 6 May 1971.

[75] BAHPS, S 44/3, Canterbury Road Mixed Secondary Modern School, log book, 21 July 1972.

[76] 'Assimilationism' was the dominant theory driving the approach to migrant communities in Birmingham: Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, pp. 110-123.

headteacher's concern about the 'disruptive elements' but also in concerns about 'respect' for British ways of life. The headmistress of a girls' school, also from the Handsworth area, went so far as to write to the Chief Education Officer in 1969 to complain about the inability to accommodate her '72 % coloured' intake. Noting that '[w]e have 104 new girls of which only 29 are white', she hoped that:

> you will understand my anxiety and that of the staff also, we are most dispirited as we face the prospect of a "Black school" […] The top of the school is mainly black, and for the first time we have found a lack of respect among the coloured girls for our English traditions and way of life […] [T]here are not enough English pupils to take the lead, the rot sets in and energies are wasted on issues which normally would not arise.[77]

The nature of those concerns about 'English traditions' – and, indeed, the traditions to which she was referring – was not made explicit. For these headteachers, the narrative seemed to centre on a need for the school to act as a unifying force on the urban landscape. What they emphasised and advocated was a 'multi-cultural' education but with the thinly-veiled subtext that white, working-class children (themselves equally portrayed as a subject of concern in different contexts of the post-war urban landscape) might act as a 'civilising' force on migrant behaviours. This concern dated back officially to 1963, when a Birmingham LEA conference highlighted the danger of 'white flight' which would leave immigrant children and their parents with 'those Birmingham parents who tend to be least ambitious for their children'.[78] Once again, there is an absence regarding what behaviours precisely were causing concern; far less an attempt to directly quantify them, as in the Brighton case.

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[77] Quoted in: BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 6, 'Report by Chief Education Officer. Handsworth Girls' School: Admission of coloured pupils', 10 September 1969.

[78] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 39, 'Report of the Chief Education Officer to Primary and Secondary Education Sub-Committee: the Educational Problems of Immigrants', January 1963.

Reflective of an aggressively 'assimilationist' discourse noted by Grosvenor and contemporary commentators such as Barry Troyna, this was also an example of a situation in which behaviour (and particularly the exercising of cultural practices) was held to be a specific marker of cultural difference.[79] Situated alongside the alternating criticism and romanticisation of (white) working-class community and culture noted in Chapter Four, such cases reveals how teachers, as agents of the local state, understood the 'local' itself as a defining force of identity and may have responded ambivalently to outside migration as a result.

These ambiguities in the responses to the presence of children either not born in Britain or of second-generation heritage is made more difficult to interpret by the terminology used. While the headmistress in the example above used the label 'coloured' (as did her male counterpart), the precise group to which she was referring remains unclear. Most of Birmingham's migration in this post-war period came from the former Caribbean colonies – designated collectively as 'West Indian' in the council's internal documents – but was equally made up of a large cohort from South Asia.[80] If West Indian adolescents provided behaviour problems, the majority of attention for South Asian children centred on their perceived language difficulties. Indeed, for the most part, the education department's archived papers about 'immigrant' children were related to the problems of English, specifically among families having moved from India and Pakistan.[81] Fears of overloading

[79] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, pp. 50-71. See also: Barry Troyna, *Racism and Education: research perspectives* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993).

[80] In their history of post-war Birmingham, Sutcliffe and Smith place immigration as *c*.100,000 in 1961, and argue that the 1950s witnessed higher numbers from the Caribbean, while the 1960s saw greater migration from South Asia: Sutcliffe and Roger Smith, *History of Birmingham*, Vol. 3, pp. 207-208.

[81] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, Circular letter, E. L. Russell (Chief Education Officer) to headteachers, 17 December 1959.

the so-called ‘remedial’ classes with such children were a common refrain from headteachers.[82]

In response, the LEA attempted to organise special training for teachers. The Handsworth headmistress who wrote to the Education department was probably the same one who recorded her attendance at several conferences ‘on the question of Immigrant children in school & the non-English speaking groups’ in her log-book throughout the 1960s.[83] The tone of the log-books, however, remained unclear. One entry recorded a visit by the *Birmingham Mail* photographer ‘to take informal shots of groups of girls showing “integration” of the overseas immigrants’.[84] The use of inverted commas referenced both official terminology but also, perhaps, her personal doubts. As the above example indicates, the authorities clearly regarded propagandising their initiatives as worthwhile, and the promotion of multiculturalism extended to the programme for this school’s Parents’ Day which included ‘West Indian folk songs, [and] Indian dancing’.[85] This headmistress was similarly able to note on retirement that, despite the ‘great social changes in the neighbourhood shown by the ever increasing number of immigrant families’,‘[t]he process of adjustment on all sides has not been achieved without much consistent effort and patience’.[86]

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[82]Letter from headmistress, quoted in: BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 6, ‘Report by Chief Education Officer. Handsworth Girls’ School: Admission of coloured pupils’, 10 September 1969. See also: BAHPS, S44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls’ School, log book, 5 April 1963.

[83] BAHPS, S 44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls’ School, log book, 25 February 1960, 7 December 1962, 1 November 1969.

[84] BAHPS, S 44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls’ School, log book, 12 December 1962.

[85] BAHPS, S 44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls’ School, log book, 22 May 1963.

[86] BAHPS, S 44/2, Canterbury Road Secondary Modern Girls’ School, log book, 31 December 1964.

The sensitive nature of the topic, belied by the Handsworth headmaster's concern for 'the Martin Luther King Dream', can be further gleaned from the Chief Education Officer's 1960 response to an apparent request by a researcher at the University of Durham who wished to have access to ethnic data to produce a 'distribution map of the coloured school population'.[87] Lionel Russell insisted that he was unable to 'be very helpful' on the supposed grounds that 'no differentiation is made whatsoever in the education of pupils in the schools in this city on the grounds of colour or race'.[88] Despite its protestations, however, the city's education department appears to have been keen to collect statistics on the number of migrant children.[89] Indeed, the department could confidently claim in 1967 – when discussing the radical option of forced dispersal with Denis Howell, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the DES – that migrant children accounted for 8.3 per cent of the total school population (or 14,939 pupils) of which the majority were classified as 'West Indian', followed by those from India and Pakistan.[90] How to deal with migrant pupils was clearly a major and exercising concern, taking up several files and boxes in the administrative archive.[91]

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[87] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, Letter, G Chilton to Chief Education Officer, 28 December 1959.

[88] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, Letter, Chief Education Officer to G Chilton, 11 January 1960.

[89] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 39, 'Report of the Chief Education Officer to Primary and Secondary Education Sub-Committee: the Educational Problems of Immigrants', January 1963; BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 27, Memorandum, 'Immigration – Statistics, January 1967', W M M Chapman to senior staff in Education Department, 23 February 1967. For context to this, see: Jacqueline Nassy Brown, 'The racial state of the everyday and the making of ethnic statistics in Britain', *Social Text,* 27:1 (2009), pp. 11-36.

[90] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, typescript, 'Notes for a meeting with the Parliamentary Under-Secretary Mr Denis Howell on 28 September 1967'. Dispersal, notes Grosvenor, was one example of 'a policy decision based on perceived needs – those of white children': Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, p. 55. An overview of the council's internal debate on dispersal is given in ibid., pp. 123-127.

[91] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 22, Box 103 and Box 51, correspondence and memos.

Other local actors weighed in on the issue, including the Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters (the local branch of the NAS) who regarded 'immigration' as a serious 'educational problem'[92] and advocated a 'vigorous and progressive housing policy' to disperse families and promote assimilation to 'English culture'. Their rationale positioned the school in the traditional ethnographic structures of the local landscape. 'Schools by tradition serve the communities in which they stand', they wrote, '[i]f a community undergoes change – in numbers or racial pattern – the schools serving that community will reflect this'.[93] In the case of these teachers, the landscape – and a highly localised one centred on Birmingham – mattered for the construction of identity. Indeed, the main categorising division in Birmingham teachers' conceptions of migration and 'otherness' appears to have been based on the locality rather than the nation. At one conference organised on the subject in 1963, and attended by seventy headteachers, the discussion centred 'first [on] the problems of Irish immigrants (whose background is different from that of Birmingham children), then the problems of West Indian children (who differ in culture and colour), and then those of Indian and Pakistani children (who differ in culture, in colour, and in language)'.[94] This classificatory typology suggested that children from different places were at varying, but concentric, degrees of removal from the Birmingham children. It is quite revelatory in this regard to note that the Irish children (seemingly cast here as the 'least problematic' migrants) were compared to 'Birmingham', rather than 'British', children. I suggest that this stratified

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[92] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters, 'Educational Problems: Immigration', June 1967; NAS, *Tomorrow's Schoolmaster*, p. 11.

[93] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 29, Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters, 'Educational Problems: Immigration', June 1967, p. 3.

[94] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 39, 'Report of the Chief Education Officer to Primary and Secondary Education Sub-Committee: the Educational Problems of Immigrants', January 1963.

perception of British identity is indicative of how these questions of identity, culture and belonging were as much centred on the topography of the city as of the nation as a whole.

Throughout much of the 1960s, the 'migration' question in Birmingham was primarily that of language and remedial teaching. But it was also inflected by notions of cultural difference, and it was the by the 1970s that the issue of behaviour was coming to be foregrounded more as a way of expressing concern.[95] The Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters organised a conference on the issue through the education department in December 1962. Interestingly, this sought deliberately to depoliticise the issue, noting that the discussion should be 'focussed entirely on the needs of the children' and that '[p]olitical issues such as racial discrimination would be barred'.[96] Birmingham's policy was outward encouragement of multiculturalism, but its principal failure lay in continually conceptualising incoming migration, and the presence of immigrant children, as something inherently problematic for the city. In short, migrant children, and their cultural behaviours, were subjects to be acted upon.

This feature of racialised educational policy is significant, especially for the city's Afro-Caribbean community. It is from the 1970s that Birmingham's 'West Indian' community (as it was commonly designated in documents) is gradually connected more with violence,[97] and this occurs alongside the shift to the more 'disciplinary' log-book noted above. It is difficult to see this connecting directly with RoSLA, although it can be supposed

[95] Indeed, Labour briefly lost control of the council to the Conservatives (between 1970 and 1972) over the issue: Sutcliffe and Smith, *History of Birmingham*, Vol. 3, p. 88.

[96] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 22, Letter, J. D. Marsh [Birmingham Association of Schoolmasters] to Sir Lionel Russell, 22 October 1962.

[97] Connell, for example, explores the construction of the BAME population in race riots: Connell, 'Photographing Handsworth', pp. 129-135.

that an expanded school population did provide a vehicle for these concerns to be articulated. Marsh Hill School in Erdington appeared to be at the epicentre of this, but also illustrates how racial violence could work both ways. In one case, described in the log-book as an 'unpleasant incident', the head noted how '[t]hree WI came into the school at midday and physically attacked a 6th form boy (reputed to have National Front interest)'.[98] The continued use of 'WI' throughout the book as an ethnic label and shortened form of 'West Indian' is significant; especially as it further serves to isolate pupils in this group by assuming that their ethnic identity needed to be identified overtly. Processes of labelling and the construction of narratives about incidents involving ethnic minority pupils rendered their behaviour both more visibly problematic than their white peers and institutionalised in a language of racial difference. Teachers, too, could exacerbate these trends and resist efforts to produce more fairer disciplinary procedures. Matters reached a head in this school with one particular case involving a 'third year WI boy' who assaulted a member of staff in September 1980 and was promptly placed before a suspension hearing, which the governors refused to grant. 'On return to the school', the head noted, 'all teachers refused to teach the boy and the issue was taken up by all major teacher Associations. As Head I undertook to supervise him in a separate room provided the normal teaching staff provided me with appropriate classwork. We have three other members of the family within the school'.[99] This incident continued to have repercussions throughout that September, including the head visiting the education office with teacher representatives.[100] The refusal to confer the suspension indicates a growing cautiousness about race among the education administration which teachers could

[98] BAHPS, S 127/1, Marsh Hill School, log book, 22 March 1979.

[99] BAHPS, S 127/1, Marsh Hill School, log book, 11 September 1980.

[100] BAHPS, S 127/1, Marsh Hill School, log book, 16 September 1980.

take into their own hands. The headteacher, in an extreme version of his Bloomsbury predecessor, was caught between the two, forced to tell his staff at a special meeting that 'no faction had "won a victory" only that everyone had lost'.[101] The language used to describe this case is highly guarded. If read against the grain, however, it suggests how schools and their staff could provoke racialised violence, with Afro-Caribbean pupils as victims of internal staff politics.

This pedagogy of discipline was not applied equally in all cases, and could be overlaid both with concerns about the local landscape and changes to that landscape in the form of migration. The issue of race remained a long-standing concern in Birmingham, as the analysis of the log-books demonstrates. But this can only be understood through the prism of the administrative records which complement the log-book writings and activities. The behaviours and actions of the adolescents were cited in the books as evidence from which the author could draw implicit and explicit conclusions about certain groups and communities. This most often relied on reported speech and generalising language, to the extent that it is incredibly difficult to reconstruct from the log-books alone what, precisely, was the concern of these headteachers' or their schools' protests. Behaviours were problematic, but so, too, were presences. The black adolescent emerged in the 1960s as a new subject of special concern in the secondary system and, in Birmingham at least, became increasingly more prominent into the 1970s and 1980s. But this adolescence was placed in a discourse that emphasised their racial status and peripherality by also positioning them outside of the sense of belonging that came with the local landscape.

[101] BAHPS, S 127/1, Marsh Hill School, log book, 30 September 1980.

(7.6) Conclusion

This chapter has explored headteachers' use of log-books to do three things: to record instances of poor behaviour; to invoke the external world of the community in the school itself; and to establish unique personal and professional identities in relation to their role's position within the institutional and community structures of the school. In doing so, I have engaged with a wider literature on the school log-book to highlight some of its strengths and limitations as a source. One of the main strengths, as my use of varied examples of Birmingham and Brighton indicates, is its capacity to tease out geographical differences in the distribution of concerns. Whereas Birmingham was alert to the effects of migration and multi-cultural communities on schools, Brighton seemed to be more concerned, at least during the 1970s, about the effects of political radicalisation on young people. These, as we have seen in previous chapters, were the result of local specificities in demographics, political alignment and the types of spaces and activities open to adolescents in a given area. Indeed, the absence of race from discussion in Brighton cannot be insignificant and illustrates clearly the ways in which local concerns could overlay and shape responses to both RoSLA and disciplinary questions that mobilised tropes about adolescence.

However, there is much that the material elides. The lack of consistency in log-book recording practices suggests that headteachers did not see such cases in abstract ways but as individual ones always related to, and embedded within, local concerns. Such approaches can be complemented by reading such books in conjunction with surviving local administrative records. This is especially important towards the end of the period, when the log-book had become a cornerstone of disciplinary administration with the decline in corporal punishment and the rise of suspensions and formal proceedings. In choosing to record personal matters, or turning the books into self-reflective, almost intimate, pieces of writing, mid-century teachers were able to navigate social change (like the headmistress of Bloomsbury school) or, like

those reflecting on the arrival of new generations of migrant families, present narratives of multi-culturalism that oscillated between complementing and resisting the official line of argument presented by their superiors.

Finally, these changes and evolutions in the use, form and content of the log-book suggest a wider narrative of change over time in relation to the pedagogy of discipline. The fact that using the books to record emotional engagement peaked during the Second World War, especially in the context of evacuated schools, supports Lawn's suggestion of this time as a turning point in how teachers imagined their own lives in relation to their pupils, as well as Barron's and Wright's argument that between the inter- and post-war periods, schools became more centred on their communities. Similarly, both Birmingham and Brighton highlight the continuity of landscape as a way of articulating concern and anxiety about adolescents, albeit with a difference in focus on race and class. However, in seeking to complement and extend these existing narratives, I would equally suggest that the ways in which discipline, community values and race relations were recorded highlight professional and administrative ambivalence about social change in the period from the end of the 1950s to the 1970s, with the community becoming pathologised. As official policy shifted towards systems approaches, headteachers, perhaps inspired by their proximity to local life, persisted in adding some flavours of the local landscape to their log-books, but – in contrast to previous iterations of this trend – more often to critique it than to attempt to understand it.

CHAPTER 8:

ADOLESCENTS AND THE MEANINGS OF DISCIPLINE IN THE EARLY 1960S

In many ways, adolescents – and their own perspectives on the pedagogies of discipline – have been the absent presence of this thesis. One reason for this is the systematic silencing of the adolescent voice within the source material itself. In previous chapters, I have presented a variety of different professional perspectives on the adolescent, as this age category acted out its stages of development towards adulthood, moved through the school and – in the opinions of certain commentators and unions – posed behavioural problems. The abstracted, predominantly male and working-class, adolescent constructed at the nexus of the competing and complementary gazes of the period is one, Hendrick has noted, who was excluded from the discourses constructed around them, 'disfranchised from a consciousness of their own position, for in their "natural" condition, it was [presumed by others to be] axiomatic that they could not know who or how they were'.[1] As I argued in Chapter Two, however, adolescents were held, by their psychological discoverers, to be capable of greater explicitness when it came to exploring the world and their place within it. These ideas about adolescent voice and authorship did persist, and by the middle of the twentieth century the pioneers of the new childhood and youth studies were able to reposition their discipline around the search for the child's 'voice'. For those interested in adolescence, new possibilities for the analysis of textual productions, such as the literary *bildungsroman*,

[1] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 154.

juvenilia and poetry, opened.[2] 'Contrary to children, who can be only the subject of narration', wrote Neubauer, 'adolescents can write about themselves'.[3] Adolescents are uniquely positioned to produce self-referential and reflective writing, and this was something recognised by teachers and psychologists. In his report for 1956, the Birmingham psychiatrist and director of the city's child guidance clinic, Charles Burns, appealed to the particularities of the adolescent to advocate tactfulness in psychological testing. '[T]here are cases', he wrote, 'where the child, especially if adolescent, will think, or say: "Do you think I'm mental (or barmy)?"'[4] In Leicester, where, as we saw earlier, adolescents became increasingly more of a fixture in the remit of its psychological services, a 1964 report noted that the onset of puberty altered the type and form of appropriate treatment, arguing that 'play therapy is a technique normally adopted with young children under the age of 12' who 'find it difficult to state their problems in words'; whereas the 'adolescent is, by and large, verbal and prefers to be treated in a more adult and direct manner'.[5]

Exploring adolescents' own beliefs about the pedagogy of discipline, as well as their 'consciousness of their own position', is the aim of this chapter, which explores written pieces by pupils at a Birmingham secondary school and taped conversations with Islington schoolchildren. Prior to this, however, I examine the pedagogies of discipline which underlay

[2] Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 72-84.

[3] Ibid., p. 31.

[4] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/1/1/1/56, 'Annual Report to the City of Birmingham Education Committee of the School Medical Officer, James R. Mitchell, MC, MB, ChB, DPH for the year ended 31st December 1956', p. 60, in Education Committee Minute Book, 1956-1957.

[5] TNA, ED 130/21, 'The Leicester School Psychological Service Today (1964)', typescript taken from a pamphlet, p. 9.

some efforts to represent, and give a voice to, the adolescent and which provide a useful interpretative framework for the later source-base.

(8.1) The adolescent voice and the historical record

One of the ironies of Hendrick's assertion about silencing is that the 'voices' of real adolescents and children were evidently at the root of such 'disfranchising' scholarly ideas. The nature of teachers' work required them to come into contact with people of this age-group every day, and thus gain an impression of their voices (of the kind found in Blishen and Croft). Sociologists and psychologists would also have practised interviews and carried out testing, as did interested lay individuals. I propose that confronting this voice and its apparent suppression is more than simply an exercise in addressing a perceived imbalance within the source material and locating yet another actor within the narrative. On the contrary, it is a vital step towards offering a productive problematisation and critique of research methodologies, both past and present. Since its origins, childhood and youth history has been concerned with 'agency' and 'voice', but this has sometimes been to the detriment of critical engagement with those voices and their construction in the archival record. Some of the contributors to the first issue of the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* drew attention to positioning children as 'makers' of history, but followed this with comments on how new forms of agency – other than those that were individualistic – were required.[6] In a recent critique of certain manifestations of this new orthodoxy, Mona Gleason identifies three iterations of 'the agency trap', which she holds are insufficiently critical and engaging with the concept of agentic behaviour itself. These include the tendency to reduce

[6] Maynes, 'Age as a category of historical analysis'; Paris, 'Through the looking glass'.

agency to an analysis of 'contribution'; to establish dichotomies between adults on the one hand and children on the other; and to regard young people's agency as homogeneous, or uninflected by gender, class or race.[7] This seems especially pertinent in a study of discipline, since there may well be a tendency to retrospectively attribute all kinds of motives to examples of behaviour where these survive in the record. The most extreme case is undoubtedly the heroic narrative of everyday resistance through poor behaviour suggested by Humphries and Davin,[8] although these were often the product of contemporary concerns in youth studies with questions of 'resistances'.[9]

Issues with the unproblematised voice have emerged because childhood history has been unable to engage with and historicise both its own historiographical influences and its links to radical pedagogies during the early- and mid-twentieth century. A concern with listening to children, for instance, had long been the staple of radical and mainstream pedagogies. Such work received an imprimatur from radical history in the 1970s, best exemplified by *History Workshop* and the intellectual currents of British social history. The concomitant rise of the children's rights movement in the same period, and with it new academic iterations of child-centred childhood studies – whose key exponents included historians and sociologists such as Harry Hendrick – were key in promoting a concern with children's narratives both within and beyond pedagogy. Contemporary campaigns on issues around childhood likewise stressed the need to hear the voice of the child.[10] The critiques of

[7] Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap'.

[8] Davin, *Growing Up Poor*; Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels?*

[9] This argument is advanced by Christine Griffin in her review of youth studies literature at the beginning of the 19980s: Christine Griffin, *Representations of Youth: the study of youth and adolescence in Britain and America* (Bristol: Polity Press, 1993), p. 209.

[10] Crane, *Child Protection in England*, Chapter 3, 'Hearing children's experiences in public'.

adult-centred narratives offered by such perspectives owed much to the interweaving of that same period's postmodern, deconstructionist and liberation theory; with Hendrick's work on children, agency and history overtly acknowledging the influence of feminist and race-relations scholarship.[11] This shift towards identity-based politics is significant because, as Mathew Thomson's work has shown, there were other, perhaps more troubling, identitarian currents present at this time – such as the Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE) – which sought to mobilise the child's voice to different ends. A key component of PIE's demands was the claim – allegedly supported by controversial research from the Netherlands – that paedophilia was in itself neither abusive nor harmful and that any resulting trauma was a product of how adults framed children's own experiences and instructed them to respond.[12] Leaving aside PIE's specific agenda, their counter-accusation of leading or influencing the child's voice reminds us that children, lacking the means to disseminate their own words, often find their utterances subject to appropriation, reappropriation and interpretation (as PIE itself did). I suggest that PIE and its opponents exemplify a battle, which emerges in this period and continues in present historiography, to control the child's voice. They serve as an illustrative example of a politics of voice, experience and representation which has been largely elided in the current history of childhood. In such analyses, children's voices are instrumentally used by others to assert certain claims or are sought and elicited with specific objectives in mind. This approach risks further marginalising the adolescent, frequently sited on the boundaries of childhood and adulthood; a voice, therefore, that can exist in both camps.

[11] Harry Hendrick, 'The child as a social actor in historical sources: problems of identification and interpretation', in Pia Christensen and Allison James (eds), *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (London and New York: Spon Press, 2008), pp. 52-54.

[12] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, p. 169.

Schools, meanwhile, play a crucial role in this twentieth-century production of voice. They are, as Carolyn Steedman notes in a well-known piece on working-class life-writing and education, places in which the largest amount of personal, self-reflexive writing is produced (but also lost) on a daily basis.[13] Beyond written texts, children produce oral material in child guidance clinics or recorded speech in front of social researchers and interviewers, and there exists a developing literature on children's drawings and material culture.[14] Yet these spaces of interaction (schools, clinics and street-corner interviews) are also sites in which such material is produced according to the dictates and whims of others, rather than children themselves, and in which the work produced can be appropriated by those groups for other purposes. As Steedman argues in another text on children's writing, *The Tidy House*, young schoolchildren – and perhaps adolescents, too – generally conceive of writing in school as a 'task' to be done because an adult has ordered it (unlike more personally-directed activities such as keeping a diary).[15] More problematically still, that autobiographical project is one based on a coercion into writing and narrating the self. The 'state-required and state-mandated narration' of nineteenth-century poor-law assessment, claims Steedman, stokes the 1950s' 'new practices of self-narration' and 'the political uses to which these working-class stories were put'.[16]

[13] Steedman, 'State-sponsored autobiography', pp. 52-53; Hester Barron and Claire Langhamer, 'Children, class, and the search for security: writing the future in 1930s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 28:3 (2017), pp. 367-389. For a discussion of these processes in relation to teachers' writing, see: Steedman, 'Prisonhouses'.

[14] Manon Pignot, *Allons enfants de la Patrie. Génération Grande Guerre* (Paris: Seuil, 2012) ; Rose, '''Personal powers of the child'''.

[15] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, pp. 91-99.

[16] Steedman, 'State-sponsored autobiography', p. 54.

A more fruitful point of departure for analysis of the voice might not, after all, be a focused analysis of children's voices alone, but of those with whom they interact: the adults who precipitate their participation in certain activities and then re-use or reappropriate the child's work. This process implies recognition that children's texts can exist at multiple levels of removal from the individual child and can be used to extract multiple different meanings. In uncovering these invisible processes, it is possible to ask what the uses of a history of childhood (or, in this case, adolescence) might be for a history of sociology, psychology and the teaching profession. If one constructive impact of feminist scholarship has ultimately been to promote attention to gender as a wider organising category, so analysis of how children's sources are problematised might illuminate the fluidity of age relations. To do this, I turn to two rare case studies where material written by secondary-modern pupils themselves survives. These examples highlight the dangers of uncritically reading for adolescent voices on discipline without – as Steedman wisely suggests – being aware of their contextual circumstances. It is the failure to do this which leads not just into the 'agency trap' of Gleason, but also to an 'authenticity' trap which imbues the adolescent voice with a unique, unassailable status.

With this latter point, we come to the wider import and argument of this chapter. The general trend for teachers in the mid-century period, from which both of this chapter's sources are drawn, was to link the pedagogy of discipline to school work. To return to the tripartite model of the pedagogy of discipline outlined in Chapter One, the second part came to predominate. In turn, this fed into conceptions of classed and gendered adolescents which assumed that education and the content of the curriculum should address their interests.[17] 'It is now well established', noted a Schools Council publication, outlining a research strategy

[17] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary-modern education', p. 27; Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 501.

ahead of RoSLA, that 'the schools are likely to be most successful with those pupils whose interests, motivation and sense of relevance are engaged by the work they are asked to do'.[18] There was an emphasis on encouraging relatively free expression to adolescents within limits. Yet despite the existence of a pedagogy which emphasised the child's voice and their written production, locating the actual traces of these processes remains both methodologically challenging and their interpretation conceptually difficult. Such records are unlikely to survive in archival holdings in the same way as other school sources with a more administrative focus, like the log-book.[19] This is a testament to the fact that the protestations of teachers and campaigners may have succeeded in generating more pupil-centred methods, but not in ensuring that the fruits of these methods would be preserved outside of the school.

In the next two sections, I employ two main texts: transcripts of Michael Duane's discussions with groups of Risinghill pupils about corporal punishment and discipline, and a collection of school magazines, kept in the administrative files of Birmingham's education department, which feature examples of secondary-modern boys' writing and address discipline far less obliquely. Each of these offers the opportunity to interrogate a perspective 'from below' whilst simultaneously problematising the apparent over-zealous focus on agency and the voice.

[18] Schools Council, *Raising the School Leaving Age*, p. 3.

[19] Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap'; Johanna Sköld and Kaisi Vehkalahti, 'Marginalised children: methodological and ethical issues in the history of education and childhood', *History of Education*, 45:4 (2016), pp. 403-410.

(8.2) Michael Duane: eliciting responses

First and foremost in the case of what I will term (not unproblematically) 'the Duane interviews', the material nature of the sources themselves needs to be stressed: that is, transcripts derived from magnetic tape recordings. Duane appears to have acquired a tape-recorder shortly after the opening of Risinghill, at a time when more schools appeared to be purchasing them.[20] But its use seems to have been as much personal as pedagogical. There are several typed transcripts made from the resulting recordings among Duane's papers, which feature the headteacher in discussion with whole classes, or selected groups of pupils, on a wide range of topics. It would be erroneous, however, to assume that the 'voice' of the adolescent is unmediated here, as the topics chosen for discussion have largely been dictated by Duane's interests. In other words, his desire to offer pupils a chance to speak extended only in so far as it was an exercise in gaining their opinions on specific topics. This is not to suggest that the pupils did not, perhaps unintentionally, subvert this, by wandering off-topic, talking about irrelevant matters, or simply by misunderstanding the question or the point of the exercise. Examples of such misunderstandings, some of which I discuss below, are a productive point of departure for obtaining an insight into how adolescents connected – or failed to connect – certain types of discipline and made sense of disciplinary regimes to which they were subjected.

Duane's use of the transcripts is also complicated by their multiple valency and, as I have suggested in the previous section, their status as layered sources that are made and reappropriated. The first two were made in response to one (of many) scandals to affect Risinghill and its avuncular headmaster.[21] In an interview with the current affairs magazine

[20] For more on this instrument, please see: John Weston, *The Tape Recorder in the Classroom* (London: National Committee for Audio-Visual Aids in Education, 1968).
[21] For a discussion of these see: Berg, *Risinghill*. A more critical, although sometimes equally polemical, analysis can be found in: David Limond, 'Frequently but naturally: William

Today in 1963, Duane, who forcefully opposed corporal punishment and oversaw its unilateral abolition in Risinghill, suggested that beating was common in ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) primary schools.[22] Drawing ire and indignation from his superiors, he was hauled in for a disciplinary meeting. The aim of these discussions was thus to provide evidence in support of his claims. In one of the tapes, he explains the background of the *Today* incident to the class, foregrounding his intentions with regard to the material that they offer to him, although he does not make explicit to the pupils that their words will be used as evidence to back up his claim.[23] In another, the day before he was due to deliver a lecture, he states at the end of the transcript that 'I've got quite a number of thoughts down here, which will help me tomorrow'.[24]

Duane does not necessarily ask leading questions. In point of fact, his approach seems largely the opposite: to make provocative declarations against which pupils would react and respond.[25] It is in this way that we need to be alert to the way in which these sources which apparently reveal the adolescent voice were, in fact, seeking it in responses to an exercise; to another voice asking questions and setting the tone, if not the terms, of the discussion. It was these methods which, Limond suggests, were central to how Duane temporarily reinvented himself after Risinghill as a minor educational celebrity and folk-hero of progressive

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Michael Duane, Kenneth Charles Barnes and teachers as innovators in sex(uality) education in English adolescent schooling: *c*.1945-1965', *Sex Education*, 5:2 (2005), pp. 107-118; and David Limond, 'Michael Duane after Risinghill: rise and fall of an educational celebrity', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 37:1 (2005), pp. 85-94.

[22] Berg, *Risinghill*, pp. 24, 154-156.

[23] IoE, MD/5/4/36, typescript, '1st tape on caning – discussion with 3C', p. 1.

[24] IoE, MD/5/5/50, typescript, 'Michael Duane discusses with several pupils: A picture, adults, sex (instruction, and personal theories), married life', p. 18.

[25] IoE, MD/5/5/50, typescript, 'Michael Duane discusses with several pupils: A picture, adults, sex (instruction, and personal theories), married life', pp. 4-5, 15-16.

martyrdom.[26] But Limond misses how Duane also fits into wider trends of this time; including the quasi-ethnographic nature of these interview techniques. One of the revealing things about the Duane transcripts is not simply what they demonstrate about the opinions on discipline of a group of mixed-gender, working-class, and perhaps also ethnically-diverse (although this latter is more difficult to glean) group of adolescents in an Islington comprehensive school in the early 1960s, but also how they render visible the otherwise invisible process of eliciting responses to a stimulus as part of a research initiative.[27]

The final point for consideration of the Duane interviews is their interesting afterlife. Indeed, one question left unanswered by the material (and one reason for the problematics of my use of 'Duane interviews') is who actually produced them. For while Duane was the driving force behind the recording machine, his comment, referred to above, about using the material 'tomorrow' would indicate that he had little time himself to listen in the repeated and intense way that would be required to type a coherent and accurate transcript of the kind featured in the archive. It is far more likely that he listened and took notes. Moreover, the transcripts contain several handwritten annotations in a style that more closely resembles that of Duane's long-term collaborator and friend, Leila Berg, whose inside exposé of the succession of scandals precipitating the school's closure was first published as *Risinghill: death of a comprehensive school* in 1968. Extracts from the children's records certainly make appearances in the book and are dispersed throughout but are especially concentrated in the

[26] Limond, 'Michael Duane after Risinghill'.

[27] These issues have been considered from a sociological perspective by Mike Savage, Tanya Evans and Pat Thane. All have used original fieldwork notes to piece together the assumptions and prejudices of researchers, and to trace the ways in which these processes constituted an invisible stage in the production of scholarly ideas about research subjects: Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, pp. 3, 25-47; Evans and Thane, 'Secondary Analysis of Dennis Marsden's Mothers Alone'.

first chapter on discipline and punishment.[28] However, they were here described as 'interviews', which, for a reader with limited knowledge of the sources on which they were based, gives a very different impression of the processes of textual mediation that ultimately produced the voices on the page. Those cited correspond well to Berg's notes on the front page of one of the transcripts, which identify specific pages and pupil names, destined for direct citation.[29] That Berg and Duane shared this material and practiced these research methods reflects the argument about popularised sociology advanced in Chapter Four, and also reveals the multiple and successive lives of these adolescent 'voices' shared between different people and fixed on the page. The cross-fertilisation of two archives (Berg's papers are also held at the Institute of Education, albeit as a much later acquisition) illustrates one set of interpretative problems raised by this material. In a final ironic postscript, the tapes themselves appear to have been lost. We can consequently only rely on the accuracy of the transcripts and cannot hear the complex intonations and accents of the adolescent voices themselves.[30]

The young people recorded here, asked for their views on corporal punishment, frequently offered their own interpretations of the practice and disagreed with Duane's ethics of it. This is an example of what Hendrick calls the 'unsettling' nature of children's sources which do not conform to expectations.[31] In the case of one boy, this was based around the

[28] Berg, *Risinghill*, pp. 9-24.

[29] IoE, MD/5/5/50, typescript, 'Michael Duane discusses with several pupils: A picture, adults, sex (instruction, and personal theories), married life', front page.

[30] In this, I draw from the theoretical framework of: Anne Karpf, 'The human voice and the texture of experience', *Oral History*, 42:2 (2014), pp. 50-55; and idem, 'The persistence of the oral: on the enduring importance of the human voice', unpublished PhD thesis, London Metropolitan University (2016).

[31] Hendrick, 'The child as a social actor in historical sources', p.58.

notion of age, of respect for older children and the necessity of appropriate socialisation for infants:

> I think when you get older, they tend to treat you as human beings, like you know, when you're younger, I think it's alright to punish people. I think it does them better in the long run.[32]

Another pupil, this time female, shared this view. She suggested that a smack was not necessarily, in her view, constitutive of corporal punishment: 'Well, with small children, you don't have to give them a very hard smack, do you? – 'cos, you know, they feel it anyway'.[33] This last part contains a revelatory misunderstanding in the meaning, as Duane subsequently makes clear that his own definition of corporal punishment does include smacking. The children in this class had, by contrast, read it simply as a synonym for the cane. They had made no connection between different types of physical chastisement or the use of different body parts or implements in the separate spatial settings of home and school.

These examples of the child's voice suggest a more pro-corporal punishment attitude on the adolescent's part than we might initially consider. It would be easy to assume that this was part of their desire to tell their teacher what they assumed he would want to hear. Berg's own interpretations of support for beating amongst the families of Islington, meanwhile, had much to do with an ethnographic perception of backwardness that was transmitted through the generations.[34] Yet, drawing from Steedman's analysis of working-class girls, we might also venture that these adolescents, as older children, were attempting to express solidarity

[32] IoE, MD/4/5/39, typescript, 'Michael Duane with several pupils discussing previous schools, friend, family, caning, favourite lessons, art class, religion, public schools and attitudes of adults, grammar schools, corporal punishment', p. 17.

[33] Ibid., p. 18.

[34] Berg, *Risinghill*, pp. 24, 44-48; Limond, 'Risinghill and the ecology of fear'.

with the adults around them. The fact that their opposition centred on it being carried out against older children (those in the same age bracket as themselves) is significant in this regard. All of the examples given in the discussion were based around younger children, and it is relatively straightforward to speculate that some of them may well have drawn these from aspects of their own lives and the experience of caring for younger relatives in producing these views. Like Steedman's eight-year-olds, they were describing the process of their own socialisation as adults and placing boundaries of divergence between themselves and much younger children.[35] In broader terms, they may, to employ Barron's and Langhamer's phrase, have been aware of their own position in 'a generational hierarchy' in which to exhibit moderate 'adult' behaviours would allow them to appropriate some degree of adult authority over those under them.[36] This also stands as a salutary reminder of what Gleason terms 'differentiation' within childhood and adolescence: how heterogeneous responses can be determined by small degrees of difference in age, in addition to gender and class.[37] In doing this, the girls and the boys of Risinghill were imbibing social ideas about discipline and behaviour and forming their own pedagogy of discipline, against the radical viewpoint of their headmaster.

(8.3) Alderlea: texts and writing

Berg and Duane offer a perspective on adolescents' spoken words, but classrooms were also places for written texts. Steedman notes that the publication of children's writing had been a

[35] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, p. 31.

[36] Hester Barron and Claire Langhamer, 'Feeling through practice: subjectivity and emotion in children's writing', *Journal of Social History*, 51:1 (2017), p. 108.

[37] Gleason, 'Avoiding the agency trap', p. 450.

successful genre in the nineteenth century, largely because it pandered to, and consequently helped to construct, notions of childish innocence.[38] As I argued in preceding chapters, early twentieth-century commentators on adolescence – while certainly alert to its dangers – nonetheless held a decidedly romantic vision of male puberty as a time of awkwardness and emotionality. The phrase 'romantic' is particularly apt, since in many ways their visions invoked both awakening sexuality and the emotionality and artistic creations of the Romantic movement. Several commentators noted the adolescent's penchant for writing verse as a way of expressing their emotional changes.[39]

Such visions were, of course, very middle-class. Working-class children had long been problematised as speaking and writing subjects, not least over their linguistic abilities and language acquisition.[40] Discussions on the effects of 'social disadvantage' on language took place at the 1969 conference of the AAM, with the organisation's journal noting that 'the liveliness and wide range of discussions … showed how deeply members were concerned about socially deprived children'.[41] It was here, then, that pedagogies of autobiography could find a place. Blishen fictionalises these in his *Roaring Boys*. He begins by using diaries as a didactic tool, a process which allows the quasi-autobiographical narrator – as the ethnographer of the slums – to glean 'more about the outside life that had turned so many of the boys' into uncooperative adolescents.[42] In a much earlier section of the novel, a

[38] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, pp. 62-67.

[39] Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, pp. 28-30; Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, pp. 66-67.

[40] Steedman, *The Tiday House*, pp. 90-91.

[41] 'Education for all: problems of schooling for children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds', *Journal of the Association of Assistant Mistresses*, 20:3 (1969), pp. 5-13.

[42] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 177.

group of boys supply an impromptu Christmas 'play' as a saturnalia for the class, full of gore and mock-Shakespearean speech.[43] The authorial voice asserts that '[i]f a headmaster or inspector came in now and protested … it would be because he wished not to face, even to suppress, the boys' own true culture'.[44] What Blishen used as a tool for sociological and ethnographic observation, was thus also intended to be an example of a pedagogy which sought authenticity in the adolescent's voice – their own, 'true' and intrinsic 'culture'.

It is only much later, when he has finally been given an 'A stream' class, that the protagonist can move towards a truly pedagogical use of the autobiographical.[45] Blishen's analysis of this is notable for its dissonance with Steedman's much later description of her primary school children, and its suggestion of a more gendered division in the production of this type of personal document. The boys, he argued, 'had no romantic feelings about their own lives. It is the rare boy with a special twist of mind that likes writing objectively about himself'.[46] Instead, what they produce is a form of social record, many of his pupils 'depict[ing] a peculiarly modern world of what there had not been, so far as I know, a chronicler'. This was, according to Blishen, 'the world of "the flats"' and much of the writing was critical of the experience of living there.[47] Just like Steedman's example, then, we have a large body of writing which reveals many age-based and gender-based dimensions to working-class writing. The problem, of course, is that many of these productions are not reproduced or published. Even in the *Roaring Boys*, there is little to suggest where the

[43] Ibid., pp. 43-45.

[44] Ibid., p. 46.

[45] Ibid., p. 189.

[46] Ibid., p. 189.

[47] Ibid., p. 248-250.

boundary between fiction ends and the autobiographical fact of the author's own experience begins. This merely emphasises the point that texts such as these are multi-layered productions in which the child's voice can exist at several levels of analysis.

The Birmingham magazines also suggest adolescence as a key moment for socialising gender and class identities. Aware of their own development into adulthood, it is perhaps the moment at which individuals are most taught to 'survey' the performative aspects of that gendered identity. In her work on primary-school children, Steedman suggests persuasively that textual productions can be read for 'an account of socialisation from underneath'.[48] She also asserts that this learned process of performative gender is 'easier and less conscious' for girls than for boys.[49] Unfortunately, this is not excavated in the book, where boys are either 'violent' and 'aggressive' or 'lonely, depressed anxious … feminised by disaster'.[50] Instead, I would suggest a more complex process and one that, by the 1950s and 1960s, when these documents came into being, was at a turning point. If, as Tisdall suggests, contemporary pedagogical practice in primary schools was based around a conception of children as ungendered (albeit in problematic ways that positioned the 'ungendered' norm as implicitly male),[51] secondary schools, as a corollary, were pivotal sites for the production of a gendered, sexual identity. This latter point is emphasised by the existence, in both Birmingham and Brighton, of single-sex schools as the defining feature of post-war reorganisation.[52]

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[48] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, p. 31.

[49] Ibid., p. 126.

[50] Ibid., pp. 12, 135.

[51] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', pp. 30-31; King, 'Future citizens', pp. 393, 397-399.

[52] Although the co-educational, comprehensive school arrived in both areas, it made in-roads only gradually and was often more a feature of late-1960s and post-RoSLA reorganisation. At

On the question of class, it is equally significant that a trope should emerge of the male adolescent as a social observer in his own right. Brickell gives an interesting and amusing anecdotal example of this in his work on New Zealand, in which an adolescent beatnik interviewed by a researcher into youth culture revealed that he, too, had ambitions to write a book about teenagers.[53] The collapsing of the boundaries between the observed and the observer – in which the ethnographer comes face to face with her own image – points to one of the ways in which research subjects can turn the tables and subvert the various gazes which attempt to classify them (as Duane's pupils may well have done in discussing corporal punishment). The surviving copies of the school magazine *Echo* also, I suggest, demonstrate some of the ways in which adolescents were able to observe and describe their lives and worlds.

School magazines were not unusual at this time, and their use as a mildly progressive educational tool and way of fostering collective identity amongst the pupil body was well recognised. This use was perhaps equally supported by the idea that working-class adolescents required 'concrete' knowledge, being unable to think in abstract terms.[54] Within this framework, the magazine allowed pupils to see their writing as part of a process that culminated in a form of publication, or what Steedman calls the inculcation of 'the idea of authorship'.[55] As far as adolescence went, this pedagogy reached back to Hall himself and what he termed 'confessional private journalism', a positive outcome of the adolescent

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the date when the texts studied here were produced, Birmingham children were still mostly segregated by gender.

[53] Brickell, 'The teenager and the social scientist', p. 51.

[54] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', pp. 501-502.

[55] Steedman, *The Tidy House*, p. 11.

attempting to navigate the growth of subjectivity.[56] The content of such magazines, however, was recognised to vary in quality. Blishen quipped in *Roaring Boys* that he 'had occasion once to type out, for a school magazine, a number of essays and some doggerel verse', indicative also of the teacher's status as a filter on the content and form of the magazine.[57] *Echo* was created at the Alderlea Boys Secondary Modern School in Shard End, part of Birmingham's post-war eastwards expansion, similar to the areas recalled by Lynsey Hanley from her childhood.[58] The school itself was opened in 1954 to serve these new estates and tower blocks, and a pupil, in a magazine section entitled 'When I was a small boy', noted how one of his earliest memories was 'of Mr Macmillan, who is now the Prime Minister but then the Minister of Housing, paying a visit to Shard End to inspect the block of houses in which I lived' (a fact which tallies with the log-book).[59] Its first issue, from December 1961, stated that the magazine had 'grown out of the English lessons' and 'therefore … contains a selection of some of the best work done during the term'.[60] This point is vital to understand how the magazine operated, as well as its potential as a source. These pieces were not freely produced; they were made in response to tasks set by a class teacher. Yet the nature of the compositions reveals much about what the teachers were asking the children to do, how they were attempting to develop pedagogies for the adolescent, and consequently how adolescents responded to these opportunities. Three editions survive, variously dated as December 1961,

[56] Cited in Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, p. 85.

[57] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 194.

[58] Lyndsey Hanley, *Estates: An Intimate History* (London: Granta, 2007), pp. 23-49.

[59] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 16; BAHPS, S 3/1, Alderlea County Secondary Modern School, log book, 7 September 1954.

[60] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, December 1961, p. 3.

April 1963 and December 1963. I suggest that they can be read through the prism of how they reflect on ideas of place and landscape, as well as punishment and violence.

(8.3.1) Place and landscape

One collection of pieces deals with Birmingham itself, and references to the city and the local neighbourhood are spread throughout the other volumes. One third-year boy reflected on the local area: 'Look at the roads in Shard End! They are the poorest in Birmingham. There are no road signs, halt signs or zebra crossings. Children are often frightened to cross the roads'.[61] A poem from a fifth-year appeared to summarise the sense of Birmingham as an unhappy city and one of such decay that it explained the desire for escapism in later pieces. It evoked the 'filthy, soot-clad areas, stood like a pit-mouth tip' alongside 'smoke and dirt and industry', before ending:

> The hole in the road, the tumbled down house,
> The city infested with rat and with mouse.
> "Kids" by the thousand, schools by the tens,
> Men keeping pigeons, some keeping hens.[62]

Both Carter and Tisdall have drawn attention to how awareness of local space and history coloured efforts to develop pedagogies for the adolescent, with the 'local' perceived as a tangible way to engage working-class adolescents in their learning.[63] The adolescent authors

[61] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, December 1962, p. 11.

[62] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, December 1962, p. 40.

[63] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"', p. 501; Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education', pp. 25-26.

returned to the idea of space and place frequently, particularly when writing about adolescence itself, where their focus was largely on sites rather than people and social problems. Virtually all of the examples from the magazine featuring writing on adolescent lifestyle saw the writers project themselves into these spaces of leisure and socialisation, occasionally into ones that were denied them in real life by virtue of their ages and their living on the periphery of the city. A section on 'Teenagers' appeared in the April 1963 issue, with marked differences in how the exercise had been interpreted.[64] This included pieces more in the vein of disembodied social observation, such as the following from a fifth-year boy:

> The teenagers of today are greatly influenced by television and advertising and they tend to copy what they see and hear; thus we have the reason for fanciful hairstyles, modern languages and modern behaviour. Nevertheless, the majority of teenagers are decent, polite, helpful human beings who just want life to be exciting and eventful.[65]

Another fifth-year, who also chose to write in the disembodied third person, noted the existence of 'youth organisations designed to keep teenagers off the street corners and out of cafes' but which 'many feel reluctant to join … as they do not like being told where to go, what to do and how to do it'.[66] A fourth-year even began with a direct second-person invocation; one which recalls some of the earlier social commentary: 'Immediately you enter a youth club you will notice the tremendous amount of activity going on such as dancing, model-making and games'.[67]

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[64] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, pp. 18-20.

[65] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 18.

[66] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 20.

[67] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 20.

Other responses to the task were more evidently fictionalised and written in the first person. These sought to place the narrative voice in the aspirational sites of adolescent leisure such as the coffee bar or the club, perhaps aware of the controversy and 'shock factor' of this space for their adult interlocutors.[68] Others, although still too young to have entered such a space legally, turned to the underground nightclub. Thus:

> As I went down the wooden stairs, the first thing that struck me was the huge net hanging from the ceiling with large, polished brass oil lanterns hanging from it. In one corner a dreary trad' group kept time while a squat, fat trumpeter, with bursting cheeks and beads of sweat rolling down his forehead, blew for all he was worth. [Fourth-year.][69]

> The light like a torch beam, poured through the window piercing the darkness like a knife. The huge sign, bearing the word "Café" swung to and fro in the breeze, creaking like a musty door. Outside stood a group of young men dressed in garish clothes. From inside poured laughter mixed with strange music. I went inside. [Fifth-year.][70]

In both of these examples, the 'I' is clearly fictionalised, and the authors employ the tropes of fictional prose writing whose use was undoubtedly the objective of the exercise demanded of them. Both of these extracts also sought to captured a sense of masculine bravado, expressed through an entry to an adult-male site. In all cases, however, in interpreting what we can only assume was the title of the composition offered to them ('Teenagers'), what seemed to matter to these young writers were less their fellow adolescents and more the imagined landscape in which they were sited. The real landscape impinges on this, since the experience of suburban

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[68] Louise Jackson, '"The coffee club menace": policing youth, leisure and sexuality in post-war Manchester', *Cultural and Social History*, 5:3 (2008), pp. 289-308.

[69] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 18.

[70] Ibid.

life may well have increased the apparent desirability of inner-city or city-centre activities. The first example of this, by a fourth-year, noted that the night was 'dark, cold and very windy', which contrasts to the 'sudden warmth and the brilliance of the lights' in the coffee shop, which 'made me shade my eyes'.[71] The second gave no description of the interior but focused on the outside where 'were parked motorbikes, scooters and cars' replete with '"L" plates' and leaking oil. The café itself has 'crystal clear windows; the door handle was red and the door itself, which stood out like a giraph [*sic*] in a herd of cows, was yellow. I took a deep breath and pushed open the door to be met by a screaming juke-box, singing to itself in an "off-beat" way'.[72] The narrative devices, reminiscent of the tension generated in pulp fiction, produced drama but not impressions of violence or aggression. These pieces instead all focused on the excitement of entering a new environment, and even though the descriptions of the teenagers sometimes spread over into the languages of 'mobs', this was never directly violent or aggressive in tone, but it drew on the language of energy, conceiving of them as a 'surge':

> The long queue of teenagers waited outside in the rain; they knew that all was being made ready in the rather old, musty and dilapidated cinema. At last the wooden doors were opened by the manager and a torrent of boys and girls surged forward.[73]

For these pupils, spaces and landscapes were imbued with meaning, not least as sites of socialisation and leisure. It is through their awareness of these spaces and their possibilities that they develop a corresponding awareness of their own identities as 'teenagers'. This suggests two things that Fowler misses, or does not acknowledge, in his haste to push back an

[71] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 19.

[72] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 20.

[73] Ibid.

anachronistic category (the 'teenager') to the 1930s.[74] The first is that the earlier groups did not have a self-conception as an age category, nor were they subject to a derisory label imposed from the outside which stressed the alienness of their culture. The second is bound up with the materiality of these later sources: that these adolescent writings come down to us only because these older children in the early 1960s were forced to remain at school for a longer period than their 1930s forebears. This suggests the intriguing possibility that adolescents in the earlier decade may actually have enjoyed more freedom than their successors. By not being at school, they entered a more ambiguous disciplinary relationship with the adults around them, in addition to enjoying greater financial autonomy.

(8.3.2) Punishment and violence

Punishment was surprisingly absent from direct discussion in *Echo*, unlike the Duane transcripts. The limits of the more liberal pedagogy of discipline, as practised through the direct soliciting of the adolescent voice, stopped short of asking for opinions on punishment. This absence is all the more striking as Alderlea did practice corporal punishment, and its four punishment record books indicate that it was used at least 1761 times between September 1962 and November 1964 alone.[75] The closest text to examine any form of punishment directly is a short example of Blishen's 'doggerel verse' submitted by a first-year boy in April 1963:

> A young boy was I.
>
> Never did I cry.

[74] Fowler, *The First Teenagers*, pp. 2-4.

[75] BAHPS, S 3/3-6, Alderlea County Secondary Modern School, punishment books, 1954-1985.

I used to be a fighting terror

Until my daddy used some leather.[76]

The poem conforms to the trend observable in the Risinghill transcripts, by which the adolescents appeared to express their solidarity with the disciplinary adults and their perceived needs. Indeed, it is worthy of note that the disciplinary force in the verse is that of the male father; just as the autobiographical narrator is clearly male and establishes a bond with his disciplinarian on this basis. As with the Risinghill transcripts, accepting reasonable discipline was potentially considered a sign of masculinity and maturity, a moral economy within the pedagogy of discipline.[77] The poem appears unsupported in the magazine, almost as a miscellaneous item, and it is impossible to gain any further information about its context. More striking in the works that are present, however, is the way in which adults and ageing are imagined as forces of authority and danger. Not all were as positive as the father figure in the poem. A fifth-year boy's description of 'The bus conductor' demonstrates how demonic and grotesque figures of adult authority could become:

> His eyes were hollows of madness. His hands were clenched tightly together, and his feet banged hard upon the steel floor as he ascended and descended the stairs of his profession. To let off steam he would thump the bell and bang his ticket machine like a fit filled fighter in action. His nasty, sharp, sulky voice could be heard from one end of the bus to the other.[78]

[76] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 17.

[77] I have argued elsewhere that teachers in this period conceived of discipline and order through the prism of a moral economy: Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline'.

[78] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 27.

The bus conductor is a revealing choice, as an adult – not a parent or teacher – with whom the adolescents might come into contact while navigating the urban environment.

Yet perhaps the most revealing of all was the unpersonified threat. The December 1961 edition had a poetry corner which featured the following contribution on the atomic bomb from a third-year:

> The BOMB is in Russia unexploded.
>
> it is big, ugly and loaded [*sic*].
>
> It bursts with a resounding roar.
>
> The BIG BOMB has exploded.
>
> The world has come to an end.[79]

The April 1963 issue featured another (perhaps more literary) attempt, entitled 'Atomic Bomb' which referred to the 'poor doomed people', awaiting their death.[80] These, coupled with recurring militaristic images in other texts,[81] imply a fear over the atomic bomb; one that was presumably amplified by the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, which chronologically separates the two works. The December 1962 edition featured a series of short opinion pieces on 'The Bomb', which ranged from the positive ('the Bomb is the means by which Britain will survive as a democratic country in the future') and negative ('It would be suicide to use it') to the more ambiguous ('a deadly enemy, but it supplies comfort to those who hold it').[82] Certainly, the atomic bomb was a ubiquitous background concern of the

[79] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 14.

[80] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, December 1961, p. 13.

[81] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, April 1963, p. 14.

[82] BAHPS, BCC/1/BH/D/1/1/3/1, Box 102, *Echo*, December 1962, p. 22.

Cold War and children may have come across the topic through civil defence initiatives as well as local anti-nuclear campaigning.[83] Blishen even notes his pupils' discussion of the bomb in *Roaring Boys*.[84] Yet it is worth pausing to reflect on the number and form of the nuclear-related pieces here, which would suggest that the subject was given as a directed exercise for a class. The use of current affairs as an instrument of pedagogy would not be unusual – although it may raise questions about the political motives of the teacher in doing so, particularly at a time of resurgence for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.[85] Its use by these male adolescents in a Birmingham secondary-modern, however, also highlights something about perceptions of adult power. While psychologists, teachers and other commentators focused on what seemed to be a male adolescent obsession with violence in a supposedly more violent society, what seemed to capture the attention of young men themselves was the inverse: the violent world of the adults around them. The 'Bomb' offered a convenient cipher for this, although, as the morose and angry bus conductor demonstrates, these could equally be projected onto other, more banal, forms of adult authority in the everyday landscape of the suburban city. What becomes striking here is the way in which 'violence' enters these narratives – not as a school-centred act, but as something so distant and international (the threat of nuclear war) that it stresses the relative powerlessness of the adolescent and the adults around them. This is all the more remarkable since these texts were not produced as a consequence of being asked to write about violence, aggressiveness or behaviour.

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[83] Matthew Grant, *After The Bomb: civil defence and nuclear war in Britain, 1945-68* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); James Hinton, *Protests and Visions: peace politics in twentieth-century Britain* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), p. 153-155.

[84] Blishen, *Roaring Boys*, p. 200.

[85] Hinton, *Protests and Visions*, pp. 153-194.

(8.4) Conclusion

This chapter has analysed what might be considered different pedagogies of adolescent discipline, both from a limited time period from the early 1960s. I have demonstrated continuities between these diverse sources – reliant on how the different voices present within them were positioned in relation to the wider world and landscape – but also their key divergencies, not least in terms of what kind of views were solicited by those collecting their opinions. I have equally attempted to engage critically with current directions in the history of childhood, and especially its desire to recover agency and voice. The mid-century moment, around the publication of Newsom and prior to Plowden, saw the new secondary schools actively and consciously undertake to promote listening to the voices of the young. These have left behind some archival and published traces; voices in their raw form, and voices recycled and appropriated for a variety of functions. It is a truism of cultural history that all voices are modulated and produced by specific circumstances which condition people to speak, write or respond through certain norms and discourses. While one problem with the material offered in *Echo* or the Duane transcripts, as Steedman noted, is that it has been collated for a purpose – and consequently survived because of its perceived value – the pieces contained within each of the two are broadly cohesive in terms of ideas and are representative of a mid-century moment in which the written and oral 'voice' was an important pedagogical tool. Writing and working-class autobiography were by no means confined to girls, but neither, too, was mobilisation on behalf of the child's voice and the desire to project meanings onto that voice. Today, we can try to read this material for what it reveals about male adolescents' understandings of the world around them, of its dangers and of its disciplinary apparatuses. Part of these understandings derive from their ability to be as much social researchers, or at the very least observers of the urban working-class world and its

gendered relations, as their teachers. Just as Steedman's work deals with girls becoming conscious of female invisible and emotional labour, so these works illustrate the processes behind a developing and class-aware (if not class-conscious) masculine identity. They reveal values around discipline based on adolescents' own life trajectories and experience of spaces, not infrequently disrupting the efforts of contemporary adults to understand and interpret their lives. Adolescents were potentially renegotiating the discipline provided for them. As with EIDIS and Rutter's work, these initiatives gave the impression that the child's voice was being made central, but it is debateable how far they were in practice.

Yet the sources examined in this chapter also come from one specific moment in the post-war period: a time between 1960 and 1965 when Britain was undergoing profound social changes. Unlike the log-books explored in the previous chapter, this chapter's source-base (at least those present in the official archives) coalesce around this early-1960s period, rather than stretch across a wider chronological frame. What can their chronological distribution tell us about change and continuity? I suggest that the invisible processes that lay behind them – a desire by adults to at least make the adolescent voice audible, even if not necessarily to promote it – point to the early-1960s moment as a period of key change within the evolution of the pedagogy of discipline. Something with this fundamentally altered in the immediate post-war and mid-century period and did so alongside changes in youth culture and the ethnographic attention that adults, including teachers, were paying to those changes. Visible in the material of this chapter, as much as in the writings of Blishen and Croft, is a new perception of the adolescent, and of 'youth' as a group, as being capable of exerting social change. This necessitated a new way of disciplining and governing this group and the development of new pedagogies for teaching and controlling them, not always with the radicalism of Duane. The successors to the approaches considered here – including Blishen's own *The School That I'd Like* and Chris Searle's *Stepney Words*, which collated writings by

schoolchildren of a range of ages – took these ideas about 'voice' as an empowering force in and of itself and developed them.[86] Yet these examples represent the last moments of possibility for such methods before the changes outlined in Chapters Five and Six – first with RoSLA, and later with the move towards the New Right's centrally-directed curriculum – fundamentally altered what was acceptable and permissible as pedagogical and disciplinary method. Indeed, even something as cautious as the *Echo* pieces strike a radical note to the modern reader when their confrontation of nuclear weapons is considered. Meanwhile, although modern research ethics committee would baulk at the activities of Duane and Berg, it is revealing that, for all of the controversies that mired Duane's career, the use of his pupils as non-consenting research participants was never a matter of concern for his employers at ILEA. As Thomson notes in a discussion of 1930s photographical advice to always photograph children surreptitiously, these historical periods feel strangely disconnected from current concerns in their methodologies for observing children but also in their belief in a narrative of empowerment through representation – whether consented to or otherwise.[87] In this case, both case-studies explored in this chapter become striking as indications of the mid-century moment's converging interest in the adolescent's voice as well as the efforts of contemporary actors to render these voices amenable to pedagogical use in the more controlled environment of the school. The trajectory of the twentieth-century, as far as the adolescent voice is concerned, is consequently of a progressive growth in concern nationally, but at the expense of a weakening of its radical roots through a process of institutionalisation. The following chapter offers a few concluding remarks on the processes identified in this

[86] Edward Blishen, *The School That I'd Like*; Chris Searle (ed), *Stepney Words No. 1-2* (London: Reality Press, 1971).

[87] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, p. 29.

thesis and attempts to draw together the disparate components of the pedagogy of discipline and the construction of the adolescent.

CHAPTER 9:
CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that adolescence, and the behaviours associated with it, increasingly became key concerns for teachers, psychologists, sociologists and policy-makers in education during the period between the appearance of Slaughter's attempt to popularise intellectual ideas about the adolescent and the publication of EIDIS. That growth was consolidated around an interdisciplinary effort to identify what the changes of the teenage years were and what they meant; both for adolescents themselves and for society as a whole. In particular, the working-class, male – and, by implication, white – teenager in the secondary school (first secondary-modern, later comprehensive) was the subject of intense scrutiny from a variety of professional perspectives regarding his behaviour. Models for understanding adolescence and its apparent behavioural problems were constructed across and through these varied gazes. Yet these processes were not static. This thesis has tracked the form, nature and articulations of the resulting pedagogies of discipline across its periodisation, and I have demonstrated how disciplining the adolescent was situated in relation to wider social anxieties, personal concerns, and professional agendas throughout the period. From this, it is possible to offer a basic narrative of chronological change in twentieth-century British education, with the visibility of adolescents as a social group passing through a number of different stages.

The first stage was a psychological conception of adolescence that gradually gave way to a more sociological perspective. Inter-war adolescence was conceived as a period of stress and awakened individualistic instincts through which the young person had to pass on the road to adulthood. This approach inspired the scientifically-driven, and at times

eugenicist, reformist agenda identified by Hendrick which influenced the Hadow and Spens committees, promoted local authority reorganisation and secured secondary education's emergence as a distinct phase in the eyes of LEAs and the newly-constituted Ministry of Education.[1] Assumptions regarding the adolescent's gender and class heavily inflected and underpinned this initial development of mass secondary education based on selection. Adolescence was conceptualised as an age of divergence in interests and capacities, while LEA initiatives in childhood and youth mental health provision were beginning to suggest similarly localised, class-based geographies of behavioural pathology.

The shift towards a more social conception of adolescence was therefore not something that occurred suddenly or precipitately. It evolved gradually from earlier concerns and a mounting dissatisfaction with the capacity of psychology alone to account for adolescent development. Teachers had a crucial role in promoting the classed, gendered conception of the adolescent, understood through the framework of his urban environment; more so than psychologists or even sociologists. In this, teachers were aided by their own professional discourses which situated them in proximity to social problems and enabled them to constitute the school as an important and unique site for intervention. Such discourses served to effectively inoculate secondary teachers – although not necessarily their primary colleagues – against the overly abstracted strand of popular Kleinianism that came to dominate in British child and developmental psychology after 1945 and which took the infant as its dominant object of concern. Conceptions of ageing defined by boldly-marked, successive stages, in the form of Piagetian theory and what Tisdall terms a trend for viewing children's capacities in a 'limited' way, defined how adolescents were understood.[2] As I have

[1] Hendrick, *Images of Youth*.

[2] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood', p. 25.

shown through my discussion of the teacher ethnography, however, this aspect of the teacher's gaze was as much a product of social observation as psychological theory. I have tracked teachers' concerns in a variety of genres; from publications offering advice to colleagues on discipline (such as Farley) to works of often semi-autobiographical fiction (such as Blishen and Croft). Consideration of these texts historiographically, I argue, highlight their new ways of situating the youthful subject in the urban landscape of the mid-century. The resulting ethnographic gaze was a continuation of older traditions of observing working-class lives, and teachers found in the urban and impoverished industrial landscape that surrounded and framed the world of the classroom the key to understanding the impact of the social dimension on adolescent development.

During the 1960s and 1970s, adolescence and behaviour were once again redefined in the wake of the decision to raise the school-leaving age. RoSLA provided a useful point around which concerns over working-class adolescent youth and their behaviour in school could coalesce. While the teachers' focus on social reportage remained, as exemplified by the case notes and observations sent in by Brighton headteachers to the East Sussex investigation into discipline, there was a shift towards more statistical methodologies and towards efforts to measure the extent of changes in adolescent behaviour. But that statistical shift was also, in its own way, qualitative; as terms such as 'violence' entered teachers' discussions and suggested a worsening in degree as well as in extent. Alongside a contemporaneous return towards a bolstered behaviourist and systems-theory approach, these developing concerns and analytical methods promoted a trend within the disciplinary advice literature which saw the classroom as a situation in need of careful management and negotiation. Indeed, it led to the inversion of the earlier landscape studies which, in discussing the interplay of school and community, placed the burden of the aetiological cause with the family and the world beyond the school gates. In their new form, and apparently corroborated by Rutter's *Fifteen-*

Thousand Hours study, the school was acknowledged to have a more pronounced influence and placed at the centre of conceptions of adolescent behaviour.

Further concerns over violent behaviour, most notably following the abolition of corporal punishment in 1986, prompted an official inquiry which serves as the chronological endpoint for this study. As with previous government-sponsored surveys and reports, EIDIS offered validation for a particular pedagogy of discipline. In this case, it was a mixed model. For while *Discipline in Schools* continued to stress the interdisciplinary nature of the gazes which constructed the adolescent as a problematic subject, it occurred in the context of these gazes having become more professionalised academically (leaving little room for teachers as independent researchers and scholars) and also less inclined to discuss across disciplinary boundaries. It also marked a more heavily mediatised conjuncture, in which pressure from the press and teaching unions could force the government to adopt certain policies. The 'moment' of Brickell's 'interdisciplinary soup' had concluded, as both psychology and sociology parted company; and as concerns over rising school-based violence, promoted by interested parties through the media, focused attention on the adolescent subject as a dangerous other existing in a complex interplay of class, race, age and gender.[3] As Timmins observes in his 'biography' of the welfare state, the educational landscape of the late-1980s stressed how 'immeasurable' had been the 'distance travelled from Butler' in terms of policy.[4] But so, too, had ways of framing adolescence, which were even more peculiar for having seemingly moved in one direction and then back again.

The broad narrative of the twentieth century is consequently one of rising concern in the form of a psychodynamic approach (albeit one allied to other disciplines), followed by a

[3] Brickell, 'The teenager and the social scientist', p. 56.

[4] Timmins, *The Five Giants*, p. 444.

shift towards sociological perspectives that resulted in a mid-century hiatus for psychology, and then, in its turn, succeeded by a more behaviourist-inflected approach towards the end of the century. Adolescence thus emerges as a limiting factor in the narrative of psychology's place in the post-war settlement, at least as far as education is concerned, and challenges the focus on the psychological as the primary means of self-knowledge in modern Britain present in the works of Nikolas Rose.[5] Indeed, it is the later behaviourist efforts at systems modification which mark the beginning of a more directly Foucauldian, governmental approach to school discipline in the 1980s. This was, of course, the very moment in which Rose was producing his earlier work, and it is tempting to situate his work historically, as an intervention into this juncture. This thesis has also suggested a slightly different trajectory for psychology to that outlined by John Stewart in his work on child guidance. While in agreement with Stewart that child guidance became a more 'psychological' than 'psychiatric' service, it was not in decline by the late-1950s.[6] The language and vocabulary of the child guidance approach persisted in the earlier work of the 'systems' theorists, with their concern for the school as a holistic and potentially therapeutic site. Indeed, as psychology became more dominant within educational disciplinary debates after the 1960s, we might hypothesise that a more behaviourist, and less psychiatric, vision of child development took hold and appropriated pre-existing ways of working. Finally, this narrative confirms Thomson's outline of a 'landscape' for children and young people, but argues that it was more than purely psychological.[7] Rather, it was one in which different disciplines could converge, and different professions had tangential methodologies.

[5] Rose, *Governing the Soul*; Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*.

[6] Stewart, *Child Guidance*.

[7] Thomson, *Lost Freedom*.

The nature of these changes, however, invites us to interrogate wider historiographical debates around youth, discipline, professions and psycho-social knowledge. Tracing the male adolescent as he moved from a biological and psychological category to a sociological subject, and then back again has, in the first place, facilitated a focus on what I term the pedagogy of discipline. By this, I suggest that questions of curriculum, class and the maintenance of order or discipline were interrelated throughout the twentieth century, with all of the commentators viewing them as part of a continuum of balance in classroom life. Although Britain has the particularity of being the last European state to abolish corporal punishment in its schools, it is significant that teachers were often reluctant to discuss this as a sanction after 1945, and did so only to defend it against attacks by groups such as STOPP. Even where it was discussed, the predominant view seems to have been that it was best avoided but that adolescent boys should be prepared to accept it as part of the gendered age relations of the school. Bowley, Blishen and Croft were all firmly opposed to it; while Farley doubted its effectiveness but suggested that it might be the only way to punish working-class children, in extreme cases, used to such methods at home. The 'systems' advocates did not mention it at all; instead preferring to stress careful control of the school environment as a prophylactic to prevent unwanted behaviours. There existed broad agreement over the school's role to inculcate certain values, therefore, but not over the methods to achieve this objective. Debates over school corporal punishment prioritised these themes, with teachers invoking *in loco parentis* and positioning themselves as quasi-parental figures of benevolent discipline.[8] Teaching unions, as I hinted above in the discussion of mediatisation, had a more visible trajectory in their ways of articulating concern. Whereas the NUT sought to downplay the blackboard jungle narrative of the 1950s, both the NAS and PAT were sounding a more

[8] Burchell, '*In loco parentis*, corporal punishment and the moral economy of discipline'.

alarmist tone by the 1980s, and had seemingly become more aware of how the print and audio-visual media might be used to promote this narrative for political gain.

Teachers were key actors in this story. There was undoubtedly a subtle shift in their role, as noted by Lawn, Hussey, Cunningham and Gardner, brought about by the Second World War.[9] However, this model of chronological change needs to be nuanced with reference to the continuities in teachers' positions within the local state. Indeed, from the beginning of the century, as Wright shows, schools and teachers were part of localised networks of relief and welfare which facilitated earlier ethnographic observation of the urban working class.[10] Teaching was an evolving professional trajectory. The war perhaps provided a framework for 'emotionalising' the pre-existing relationship between teachers and taught in hitherto unimaginable ways. The ethnographic observation that resulted from this was characterised by involvement and self-implication, rather than by any pretence of scientific distance and objectivity. Such approaches found new outlets in the secondary modern school which obliged the invention of new traditions and pedagogies, such as magazines, and new ways of negotiating the relationship between teacher and taught. Blishen's and Farley's own personal trajectories offer a window onto how two men attempted to navigate these shifts and reconcile their disciplinary role to mid-century social changes. As *Echo* and the work of Duane and Berg demonstrate, these new methods were underlaid with complex motivations. On the one hand, they suggest that a straightforward educational purpose might be connected to a romanticised conception of voices as authentic and representative of class or age cohort, rather like Steedman's 'state-sanctioned autobiography'. On the other, they suggest a tool for

[9] Gardner and Cunningham, 'Oral history and teachers' professional practice'; Gardner and Cunningham, *Becoming Teachers*; Gardner, 'The giant at the front'; Hussey, 'The school air-raid shelter'.

[10] Wright, 'The work of teachers'; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'.

gaining information, which involved both publishing the voices of one's subjects, but equally, in other ways, silencing them.

This is why the focus on secondary-school pedagogies of discipline has been so central to this thesis, enabling an appreciation of the differences in pedagogic approach between the primary and secondary sectors. The period before the William Tyndale affair is marked in primary teachers' narratives by a high level of pedagogic freedom and experimentation, sanctioned by the Plowden report.[11] Certainly, this was also the case in secondary schools, where such initiatives – like those outlined by Blishen, or visible in *Echo* – invited a focus on local descriptions as a way of enhancing literacy and awareness of the world.[12] Yet, following Tisdall's chronology, I suggest that these developments are equally marked by a more pessimistic assessment of adolescents' abilities and capacities compared to that which existed in the inter-war period.[13] RoSLA and the diverse case-studies presented in Chapter Five, although outside the temporal scope of Tisdall's work, offer a new perspective which extends, enriches and complicates the chronologies of her narrative. They indicate how the post-war psychological consensus upon which that shift was based was also affected, in the first instance, by a class-based perspective on development, and secondly by a renascent focus on behaviourism. The 'systems' approach, meanwhile, retained the desire to work within the child's boundaries which Tisdall considers the essential component of post-war progressivism.[14] It was child-centred, emphasised the avoidable nature of disciplinary

[11] Steedman, *The Tidy House*; John Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority and the William Tyndale Junior School affair'.

[12] Carter, '"Experimental" secondary modern education'.

[13] Tisdall, '"Inside the Blackboard Jungle"'; Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood'.

[14] Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood'.

problems, and suggested that the classroom situation itself contained the key to guaranteeing good behaviour; but it nonetheless sought to control the child's expressiveness. These aspects complicate definitions of 'progressivism' as a doctrine that was never formally codified or theorised. The later emphasis on 'systems' as a progressive pedagogy, despite its emphasis on control, thus evokes new afterlives for these ideas post-William Tyndale, Callaghan's 'Great Debate' and the seemingly more traditionalist shift under the successive Thatcher cabinets.[15] They suggest more continuous, if also hybridised and bowdlerised, iterations of the 'child-centred' in late-twentieth-century educational and curricular histories.

More current, early-twenty-first-century concerns over behaviour, coupled with the anxieties around ensuring high examination pass rates invoked at the beginning of this thesis, have produced further afterlives for these behaviourist-progressive training techniques. George Duoblys has chronicled the promotion of these methods in a recent article for the *London Review of Books*.[16] Such techniques rely on the control of personality and self-expression, as well as movement: pupils must not speak out of turn, must control or limit their verbal and non-verbal interactions with each other and with staff, and must repeat positive-thinking mantras. Approaches such as these return behaviourism to its Pavlovian roots; training children to respond in certain ways to specific commands or stimuli.[17] The National Education Union (the most recent product of teaching-union mergers) is one body to

[15] Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories,* pp. 135-137.

[16] George Duoblys, 'One, two, three, eyes on me! George Duoblys on the new school discipline', *LRB website,* 5 October 2017. Accessed at https://www.lrb.co.uk/v39/n19/george-duoblys/one-two-three-eyes-on-me on 10 April 2018.

[17] Ibid. See also: Hannah Richardson, 'School discipline: how strict is too strict?', BBC News website, 6 October 2017. Accessed at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-41441639 on 21 August 2018.

oppose these methods, and the growing use of isolation facilities, on mental health grounds.[18] The parallels with Foucault's description of the 'school for mutual instruction' in Paris, or the rigid workings of the prison colony in Mettray – with their elaborate timetables and systems of pedagogic commands to ensure that tasks were carried out in unison – are striking.[19] But it is not, crucially, the strictness of a Dickensian Dotheboys Hall. There is no use – or, more importantly, threat – of corporal punishment, only of corporal control through processes of psychological restraint. Hendrick and Thom have both noted the wide circulation of such ideas in contemporary parenting and childrearing cultures, linking them to neoliberal values of parenting that seek restraint while retaining the illusion of freedom. Hendrick even characterises their spread through popular books and television programmes with the colourful expression of the 'dominatrix in the nursery'.[20]

Christy Kulz, like Duoblys, has analysed the extreme iterations of this disciplinary regime in a recent ethnographical monograph, relating them more explicitly to the theoretical frameworks of Foucault's panoptic surveillance.[21] One of the more shocking, although perhaps also perversely amusing, anecdotes to emerge from Kulz's study offers a thick description of teachers ordered to patrol the urban environment immediately after school and

[18] Frances Perraudin, 'Use of isolation booths in schools criticised as "barbaric" punishment', *Guardian On-line*, 2 September 2018. Accessed at https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/sep/02/barbaric-school-punishment-of-consequence-rooms-criticised-by-parents on 3 September 2018. See also: Frances Perraudin and Niamh McIntyre, '"She deserves an education": outcry as academy excludes 41% of pupils', *Guardian On-line*, 31 August 2018. Accessed at https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/aug/31/english-school-outwood-academy-fixed-term-exclusions-pupils on 3 September 2018.

[19] Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, pp. 175-183.

[20] Hendrick, *Narcissistic Parenting*, pp. 267-295; Thom, '"Beating children is wrong"'.

[21] Christy Kulz, *Factories for Learning: class and inequality in the neoliberal academy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

punish children caught projecting a negative image of the institution. This can be through as banal – indeed, even completely legal – an activity as loitering or being seen to eat the 'wrong' sort of takeaway food.[22] Developments in pedagogies of discipline like these raise several troubling questions about continuities. Firstly, they suggest that there has been a dilution, at least from the 1970s onwards, of the adolescent's right to partake in the urban environment – paralleling that of Thomson's child.[23] Secondly, they indicate the persistence of nineteenth-century notions of the school as a missionary force whose power and authority reached beyond the mere level of *in loco parentis* to seep into the working-class family itself.[24] While efforts to extend the authority of the school into the communities beyond their gates has a much longer history, its modern iteration testifies to enduring concerns about the impact of the locality or sites of urban socialisation on adolescent behaviour. The landscape is understood as a limiting factor in the art of possible; these methods are judged to be necessary because of who the adolescents are and what their background is.[25] Finally, as Kulz herself argues, even if the framework of order no longer tolerates corporal punishment, the 'verbal cane' – in the form of physical intimidation to force children (and adolescents) into compliance – does remain an accepted form of order, now supported by psychological theory on behaviour aversion.[26] Yet there is one key changes from earlier periods discernible here. It is Kulz, a trained academic ethnographer, who records the teachers' interactions with the children's working-class environment, not the teachers themselves. Taken together, these

[22] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[23] In *Lost Freedom*, Thomson suggests that the twentieth century witnessed a progressive removal of children from public space: Thomson, *Lost Freedom*, p. 152.

[24] Auerbach, '"Some punishment should be devised"'; Wright, 'The work of teachers'; Wright, 'Teachers, family and community work'.

[25] Kulz, *Factories for Learning*, pp. 145-164.

[26] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

developments further support the existence of a more disturbing and regulatory product of mid-century pedagogical progressivism than has hitherto been recognised.[27] More research is needed, however, to connect the processes of policy and theory, social change and pedagogical methods which gave rise to these across the 1990s and early 2000s.

In this thesis, I have illustrated the changing articulation of adolescence through the education system in twentieth-century Britain. Rather than a linear trajectory of the growth of psychological theory, I posit a series of shifts, ebbs and flows around the psycho-social, the psychological and the sociological, and I argue that the adolescent was a key vehicle for articulating concerns about landscapes, behaviour and the governmental dimensions of schooling. Teachers are the unifying force in these discussions of adolescent discipline. That Slaughter, as early as 1911, had sought to address school teachers directly to promote his adolescent theories, indicates their longstanding position as a key target for intervention by other professionals. Across all of the subsequent approaches to adolescence in twentieth-century Britain, the teacher was the main figure to interpolate and convert to the new methods of working. It was similarly their own experiences at the local level which produced a professional print culture on the subject of discipline. The sensitivities around discipline highlighted by RoSLA, meanwhile, serve to emphasise the changing nature and focus of the profession across the period after 1944, when secondary education became a rite of passage for all children and entrusted to a larger, more specialised segment of teachers. These teachers increasingly bore the brunt of concerns over adolescent behaviour, especially at a time when discipline was constituted as a key component of public anxieties about youth.

[27] As James Avis acknowledged in 1991, the 'strange fate' of progressivism seemed to lie in its use as a means of 'teaching technique' rather than in the development of a 'political project' around it. However, Avis' argument, while acknowledging issues of 'control' as related to class and social structures, was mostly based around the rise of the 'vocational' in opposition to the academic: Avis, 'The strange fate of progressive education', p. 138.

School discipline and punishment served as fault-lines in critiques of the adolescent and, ultimately, allowed teachers to stake new claims for what pedagogy should mean and how it should relate to notions of order within and beyond the walls of the classroom.

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